

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

Associates: { E. C. HEGELER.
 { MARY CARUS.

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Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS

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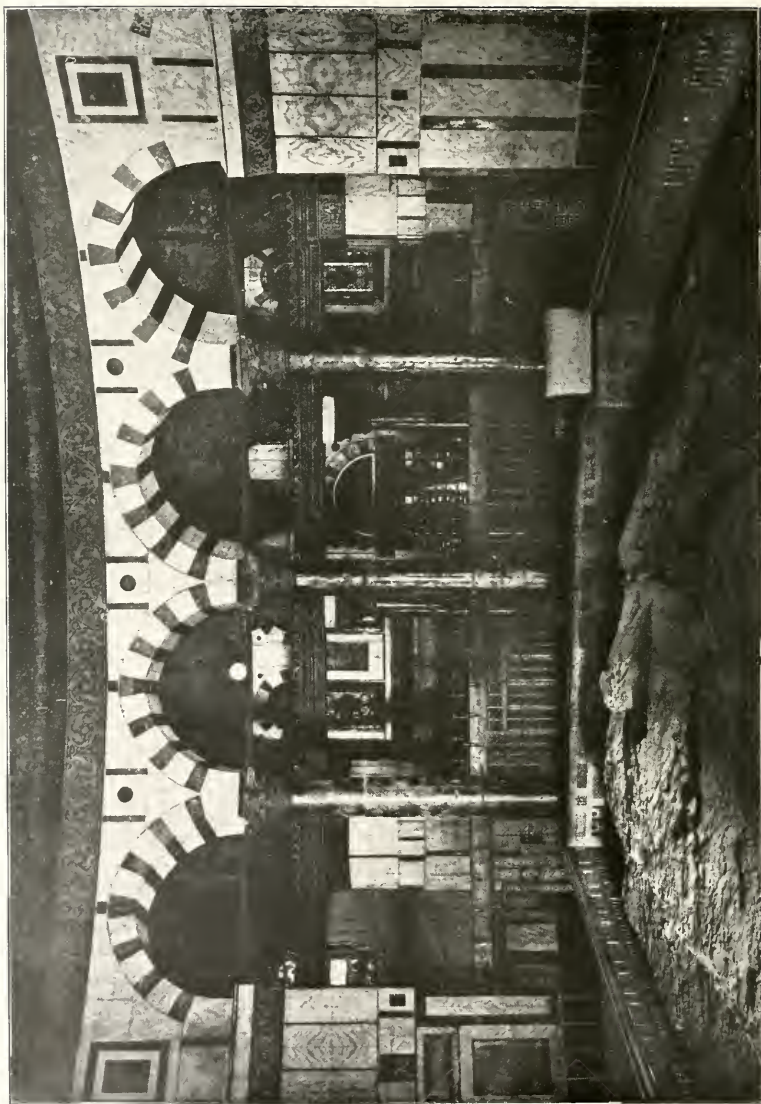
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THE INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF OMAR, THE TRADITIONAL SITE OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.
Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE COMMUNION CEREMONY.

BY JAMES B. SMILEY.

PRIMITIVE man had many misconceptions. He did not distinguish between the attributes of an object and the object itself, and he entertained the idea that by obtaining and eating an object the powers and attributes which it possessed could be acquired. Thus we are told that the New Zealander "swallows his dead enemies' eyes that he may see the further,"¹ and that the Bulloms, of Africa, "hold that by possessing part of a successful person's body, gives them a portion of his good fortune."² So, also, "the Namaquas [of Africa] abstain from eating the flesh of hares because they think it would make them as faint-hearted as a hare. But they eat the flesh of the lion, or drink the blood of the leopard to get the courage and strength of these animals."³

This belief has been a clearly marked feature of much of the cannibalism of the world. Thus it is said that "among the Kimbunda of Western Africa, when a new king succeeds to the throne, a brave prisoner of war is killed in order that the king and nobles may eat his flesh, and so acquire his strength and courage."⁴ Of the North American Indians Parkman in his history of the *Jesuits in Canada* says of men they killed: "If the victim had shown courage, the heart was first roasted, cut into small pieces, and given to the young men and boys, who devoured it to increase their courage. The body was then divided, thrown into kettles, and eaten by the assembly, the head being the portion of the chief."⁵ When the heroic

¹ Spencer, *Sociology*, vol. i, p. 102.

² Spencer, *loc. cit.*

³ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. 354.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 360.—For a large number of similar cases see *Golden Bough*, ii. 353-361. It is needless to give more here.

⁵ Parkman, *Jesuits in Canada*, xxxix.

Jesuit, Brébeuf, was tortured by the Iroquois Indians, Parkman says that they "laid open his breast and came in a crowd to drink the blood of so valiant an enemy, thinking to imbibe with it some portion of his courage. A chief then tore out his heart and devoured it."⁶ Here the savages eat the flesh and drink the blood of a victim in order to acquire his powers.

To further illustrate this point, and show how widespread this belief has been in the world, the following additional examples are given. "During the Taiping Chinese war an English merchant at Shanghai met his servant bringing home the liver of one of the rebels to eat it. . . .to give himself courage."⁷

The belief behind Australian eating of dead relatives is to save their strength, acquire their wisdom, etc. Small quantities of an enemy are eaten before burial because "they think it will impart strength to them."⁸ When a condemned man is killed the blood is washed from the weapon used, and it is believed to give those who drink it "double strength, courage and great nerve for any future occasion."⁹ Fat and soft parts are eaten because "they are believed to be the residence of the soul."¹⁰ Amongst the Luritcha tribe, in Australia, young children are killed and fed to an older but weakly child, "who is supposed thereby to gain the strength of the killed one."¹¹ Among some groups of the Arunta after a youth is circumcised the foreskin is eaten by a younger brother, "the idea at the present day being that it will strengthen him to grow tall and strong."¹² The Jumanas, of South America, believe that the soul resides in the bones. These they burn, grind to powder, mix with an intoxicating liquor, and drink, "that the dead may live again in them."¹³ The Chavantes, on the Uruguay, eat their dead children to get back their *souls*.¹⁴ By drinking of the powder made of the residuum of the stewed remains of the dead the Tarianas and Tucanos believe the virtues of the deceased are transmitted to them.¹⁵

Among the Dieyerie females eat of their relatives "for by so doing they are supposed to have a presence of their departed in

⁶ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁷ Letourneau, *Sociology*, 215.

⁸ S. Gason in *Journ. Anthro. Instit. of Great Brit.* xxiv, pp. 172, 173.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Smyth, *Victoria*, I, 245.

¹¹ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Cent. Australia*, 52, 475.

¹² *Ibid.*, 251.

¹³ Martins, *Ethnographie Brasiiliens*, 485.

¹⁴ Andrée, *Anthropophagie*, 50.

¹⁵ A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, 346.

their liver.”¹⁶ Some Tatars, when the father is dead “burn the body and collect the ashes, which they keep as something precious. And every day when they eat they sprinkle their food with this powder.” In ancient times the Tibetans ate their parents out of piety, “in order to give them no other sepulchre than their own bodies,” but the custom ceased before 1250 A. D.¹⁷ In Russia the belief that by eating parts of a body virtue could be acquired, seems to have prevailed in early times. It was an ancient belief in Europe, which has survived to modern times, that the one who eats the heart of an unborn babe of the male sex can become imbued with his valor.¹⁸

Like many other customs found among savages in recent times, eating the dead to acquire their powers is a very ancient observance. In the pyramid of King Unas, who lived in Egypt about B. C. 3300, “funeral chapters are inscribed on the walls of the chambers and passages” which represent him as rising “as a soul in the form of the god who liveth upon his fathers and maketh food of his mothers.” The soul of the dead king is represented as hunting “the gods in their meadows,” and when caught he kills, cooks and eats them. Having devoured them it is said that “his strength is greater than that of any spiritual body (*sāhu*) in the horizon,” and it adds that “he hath eaten the wisdom of every god, and . . . the souls and the spirits of the gods are in him.” Although this inscription was written on the walls of the pyramid B. C. 3300 it referred to a custom which was then very ancient, as it belonged to “the pre-historic Egyptian, in his savage or semi-savage state.”¹⁹ Here King Unas is represented as continuing in the spirit world a custom prevalent on earth, and killing and eating the gods to acquire their wisdom.

After the discovery of America by Columbus a ceremony was found among the Mexicans which probably grew out of the widespread belief above outlined, which we have seen existed in the world for thousands of years. It was thus described by Acosta, a Spanish author who visited America 1571 to 1586: “They took a captive, such as they thought good, and afore they sacrificed him unto their idol they gave him the name of the idol to whom he should be sacrificed, and appareled him with the same ornaments like their idol, saying that he did represent the same idol. And during the time that this representation lasted, which was for a

¹⁶ *Journ. of the Anthr. Inst. of Great Brit.*, XVII, 186.

¹⁷ Rubruck, *Journ. to the Eastern Parts*, 81, 151. Pub. of Hakluyt Society.

¹⁸ *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, vol. 54, pp. 216, 218, 219. See also the article by Prof. W. M. F. Petrie, “Eaten With Honor,” in *Contemp. Review*, for June, 1897.

¹⁹ E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*, 171, 172.

year in some fetes, in others six months, and in others less, they revered and worshiped him in the same manner as the proper idol, and in the meantime he did eat, drink and was merry. When he went through the streets the people came forth to worship him, and every one brought him alms, with children and sick people that he might cure them, and bless them, suffering him to do all things at his pleasure, only he was accompanied by ten or twelve men lest he should flee. And he (to the end that he might be revered as he passed) sometimes sounded upon a small flute that the people might prepare to worship him." At the proper time he was sacrificed upon an altar, being stabbed by "the sovereign priest," who used "a great knife" made of a "large and sharp flint." His heart was cut out and first offered to the sun and then presented to the idol, and his body was eaten by the people who thus made "a solemn sacrifice of him."²⁰

Acosta also says that "the neighboring nations did the like, imitating the Mexicans in the customs and ceremonies of the services of their gods."²¹

As is well known, in early times spirits (gods) were believed to enter men so that they became god-possessed. In the Mexican ceremony a spirit was doubtless believed to enter the man selected for sacrifice and he became a god-man, and the people worshiped him and besought him to bless and cure their friends and children. Then he was killed and eaten, and so the people ate the god-man to acquire his powers. Many examples might be given.

"In the Pelew Islands it is thought that every god can take possession of a man and speak through him."²² "Of the South Sea Islands in general we are told that each island had a man who represented or personified the deity. Such men were called *gods*, and their substance was *confounded with that of the deity*."²³

A process of substitution has been common by which animals and images were substituted for human victims in religious ceremonies. Hence we find that other festivals were observed in Mexico in which an image took the place of the human victim. Such a ceremony took place during the winter solstice (December). The priests prepared a human image made of "various seeds kneaded with the blood of sacrificed children. Numerous religious purifyings and penances, washing with water, blood lettings, fasts, pro-

²⁰ Acosta, *Hak. Soc. Edi.*, 323, 348 to 351. The spelling is here modernized

²¹ *Ibid.*, 349.

²² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 141.

²³ *Ibid.*, 140.

cessions, burnings of incense, sacrifices of quails and human beings, inaugurated the festival. One of Quetzalcoatl's priests then shot an arrow at this image of Huitzilpoctli, which penetrated the god (image) who was now considered as dead. His heart was cut out, as with human victims, and eaten by the king, the representative of God on earth. The body, however, was divided among the various quarters of the city, so that every man secured a piece. This was called *teoqualo*, 'the god who is eaten.'"²⁴

It was the general belief in primitive times that a spirit, or god, took up his residence in an image or idol, and it was this indwelling spirit, *not* the image of wood or other substance, that the people worshiped. In the above case the people clearly believed that their god (a spirit) entered the image, and it was this spirit which they ate, for they said they *ate the god*.

Acosta describes another ceremony which took place in the month of May. A paste was made out of "the seede of beetes with rosted mays" and honey, and of this paste an idol was made "in the bignesse like to that of wood." This idol was carried to the temple and after certain ceremonies virgins came out of their convent and had pieces of the same paste made into "the fashion of great bones. . . . They called these morcells of paste the flesh and bones of Vitziliputzli." After the ceremonies were over the priests broke the idol of paste into pieces and "gave them to the people in manner of the communion, beginning with the greater and continuing unto the least, both men, women and little children, who received it with such tears, fears and reverence as it was an admirable thing, saying they did eat the *flesh and bones of God*, wherewith they were greved. Such as had any sick folkes demanded therof for them, and carried it with great reverence and veneration."²⁵

A somewhat similar ceremony was found in China. An image of straw was made, which the people said was an image of Confucius. Over this wine was poured (the substitute for blood) and then "all present drink of it and taste the sacrificial victim in order to participate in the grace of Confucius."²⁶

The following are a few other instances of this process of substitution, which has been world-wide. Sahagon, a Spanish Franciscan who went to Mexico in 1529 and lived there sixty years (1529-1590) and who completed his history about 1569, says that

²⁴ Bancroft, *Native Races*, iii, 315, and 323. Also, *Monarchia Indiana*, vol. 2, lib. 6, cap. 30, p. 71; *Diego Duran*, iii, 107. *Annual Rep. Bur. Eth.* Wash., vol. 9, p. 524.

²⁵ Acosta, *Hak. Soc. Ed.*, 356-361.

²⁶ Jevons, *Intro. to the Hist. of Relig.*, 148. Bastian, *Der Mensch*, iii, 154.

images of dough in human form were made of the Tlalocs, or mountain gods, and of Omacatl, the god of banquets, and consumed sacramentally.²⁷ Ibn K̄ataiba states that the Banu Hanifa (of India) made an image of their god out of a paste of dates, butter, milk and meal, and ate it sacramentally.²⁸

In ancient Egypt, at the City of the Sun, three men were sacrificed on the altar every day, but by order of King Amasis waxen images were substituted for the human victims.²⁹ "The favorite victims (for sacrifice) of the Saracens were young and beautiful captives, but if these were not to be had they contented themselves with a white and faultless camel."³⁰ Herodotus says that the Egyptians sacrificed pigs to the moon, and "the poor among them, through want of means, form pigs of dough, and, having baked them, offer them in sacrifice."³¹ When Mithridates besieged Cyzicus, and the people could not get a black cow to sacrifice to Persephone, they made a dough cow and placed it at the altar. At the Athenian festival of the Diasia, cakes shaped like animals were similarly sacrificed.³² In Rome at the feast of Compitalia, woolen images dedicated to the Latin Cybele were hung out, and were said to be substitutes for human victims.

In Wermland, in Sweden, a ceremony was found in which the farmer's wife used the last grain of the sheaf to bake a loaf in the shape of a little girl. This was divided among the household and eaten by them.³³ At La Palisse, in France, an image of a man, made of dough, was hung on a fir tree which was carried to the granary on the last harvest wagon. It was then taken to the mayor's house until the vintage was over, when the dough-man was broken in pieces and given to the people to eat.³⁴ (Evidently in an earlier ceremony a human victim was sacrificed, and here it is modified to a dough image.)

"In the Balkan Peninsula an edible image of the dead was carried in the funeral procession. When the body was buried the mourners ate this image above the grave, saying 'God rest him.'" "In Upper Bavaria when a man died and had been laid out, a cake

²⁷ Sahāgon, i, 15, 21 and ii, 16.

²⁸ Bastian, *Der Mensch*, iii, 157. Jevons, *Intro. Hist. of Relig.*, 216.

²⁹ Porphyry, *De abstinētia*, ii, 55.

³⁰ W. R. Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, 343.

³¹ Herodotus, ii, 47.

³² Thuc. i, 126. See also Hermann, *Alterthümer*, ii, 159-161 for other examples.

³³ Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, 179.

³⁴ Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, 205. Jevons, *Intro. Hist. of Relig.*, 215.

was made of ordinary flour. The corpse was placed before the fire, and this cake, called the corpse cake, was placed upon the breast to rise. The dough, in rising, was believed to absorb all the virtues of the deceased, and the cake was afterwards eaten by his nearest relatives."³⁵ Here, in place of eating the relative, which we have seen was an early custom, dough is substituted—an evident modification of an earlier rite. The Peruvians made corn cakes, mixed with the blood of victims, which were distributed to be eaten as a mark of alliance with the Inca.³⁶

About 700 A. D. John of Osun, Patriarch of Armenia, wrote against the sect of the Paulicians, claiming that "they mix wheaten flour with the blood of infants and therewith celebrate their communion."³⁷ And it is said that certain African tribes believe that "on eating and drinking consecrated food they eat and drink the god himself."³⁸ Cicero said, "When we call corn Ceres and wine Bacchus we use a common figure of speech; but do you imagine that anybody is so insane as to believe that the thing he feeds on is a god?" Here Cicero expresses a rationalistic spirit, and rejects an early belief, current among the people.

Among the Tibetans a ceremony was found which was performed during the last three days of the year, and which they called "the ceremony of the sacrificial body of the dead year." It is evidently a survival of a prehistoric ceremony in which a human being was eaten. "The effigy of a man made out of dough, as lifelike as possible, and having inside a distinct heart and all the entrails filled with a red fluid" (representing blood) is prepared and placed in the center of the yard. Skeleton ghosts appear and seek to attack the effigy, but they are driven away by magic incantations etc. The second day a strange figure appears dressed up to represent "the main deity of the ancient Tibetans." To him the dough image is surrendered. "He dances round the figure of the man (made of dough) on the ground, stabs him, binds his feet in a snare, and at last cuts off his limbs, slits open his breast, takes out his bleeding heart, lungs and other intestines. At this moment a horde of monsters falls upon the remnants of the dismembered dough-man, and scatters them in all directions. The pieces are collected again in a silver basin and the Holy King of Religion, eating a morsel, throws

³⁵ *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, vol. 48, p. 411.

³⁶ *Ann. Rep. Bur. of Eth., Wash*, vol. 9, p. 527. Herrera, dec. 5, lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 92.

³⁷ Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, i, 77.

³⁸ Spencer, *Sociology*, i. 275.

them up in the air. This is the signal for the *finale*: the pieces are caught and fought for by the demons, and at last the crowd of spectators joins the general scramble for pieces of dough, representing human flesh, which they either eat or treasure up as talismans."³⁹

In ancient times the belief was common that trees and plants, as well as men and animals, were inhabited by spirits. Thus they were animate and sensitive. It is said that "old peasants in some parts of Austria still believe that forest trees are animate and will not allow an incision to be made in the bark without cause; they have heard from their fathers that the tree feels the cut not less than a wounded man when he is hurt. In felling a tree they beg its pardon." Similarly some savages beg the pardon of an animal when they kill it, in order to appease its offended spirit.⁴⁰ The Ojebways very seldom cut down green or living trees, "from the idea that it puts them in pain, and some of their medicine men profess to have heard the wailing of the trees under the axe." Believing in this way regarding the life of trees and plants, savages have thought the red juice which flowed from some plants when cut was their blood. Thus we are told that "some Indians dare not cut a certain plant, because there comes out a red juice which they take for the blood of the plant. In Samoa there was a grove of trees which no one dared hew down. Once some strangers tried to do so, but blood (red juice) flowed from the tree, and the sacrilegious stranger fell ill and died."⁴¹ Thus in sacrificial ceremonies the red juice of the grape, "the blood of the vine," would be used as well as the blood of animals and men. As animal and human sacrifice declined, the red juice of the grape (blood of the vine) would be commonly used as a substitute for the blood of the latter.

By a still further modification of this sacrificial ceremony the large human image of dough or meal would decline to a small cake or wafer. As the fetich worshiper believed that any spirit could reside in any object, "however small or insignificant," and relie worship was based on the belief that the spirit of a man would be present in even small "preserved parts of his body,"⁴² so a small cake or wafer might possess all the attributes of the large image. And in all these ceremonies each person ate only small fragments of the sacrificed man or dough idol. A ceremony

³⁹ *The Open Court*, vol. XI, pp. 496-498.

⁴⁰ Tyler, *Prim. Culture*, i, 467, 468; ii, 231, 235.

⁴¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i, 172, 173. Other examples are also given there, which see.

⁴² Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 62, 75; Spencer, *Sociology*, i, 301.

was found in Mexico which is thus described by Bancroft, who quotes from the *Vatican Codex*.

"The Mexicans celebrated in this month (December) the festival of their first captain Vichilopuchitl. They celebrated at this time the festival of the wafer or cake. They made a cake of the meal of bledos, which they called tzolli, and having made it they spoke over it in their manner and broke it in pieces. These the high priest put into certain very clean vessels, and with a thorn of maguey, which resembles a thick needle, he took up with the utmost reverence single morsels, and put them into the mouth of each individual, in the manner of the communion—and I am willing to believe that these poor people have had the knowledge of our mode of communion or of the preaching of the Gospel; or perhaps the devil, most envious of the honor of God, may have led them into this superstition in order that by this ceremony he might be adored and served as Christ our Lord."⁴³

The striking similarity between these American ceremonies and the eucharistic service would naturally impress observers, and Acosta refers to it several times. Thus in one place he says: "That which is most admirable in the hatred and presumption of Satan is that he hath not only counterfeited in idolatry and sacrifice but also in ceremonies our sacraments, which Jesus Christ our Lord hath instituted and the Holy Church doth use, having especially pretended to imitate in some sort the sacrament of the Communion which is the most high and divine of all others, for the great error of infidels."⁴⁴

Similarly a Roman Catholic missionary among the Swahili, in Africa, saw a ceremony in which a human victim was slain and the flesh eaten sacramentally by the priests and others, and he was shocked and said that to him it appeared "a satanic imitation of the Communion."⁴⁵

The worship of Mithras antedated Christianity by several centuries, as it was well established in Persia at the time of Alexander the Great. On Mithraistic medals a sacred cup and wafers are

⁴³ Bancroft, *Native Races*, iii. 323.

⁴⁴ Acosta, *Hak. Soc. Edi.*, 354.

⁴⁵ Jevons, *Intro. to Hist. of Relig.*, 289.

The wafer, which is now eaten in the Communion, is called the "host"—from the Latin *hostia*, meaning victim or sacrifice.

In the study of geology it is found that certain strata crop out in some places so that there they can be more clearly seen and more easily studied than in others. So, also, in this ceremony, while various stages of its development are found in many different parts of the world, in Mexico various stages were found existing side by side showing its development more clearly than in any other place yet found.

shown, and some ceremony similar to the Christian eucharist was observed in their rites. The Church Fathers said it was the invention of devils. Thus Justin Martyr (about 150 A. D.), after referring to the ceremony in which Jesus is represented as saying of the bread "this is my body," and of the wine "this is my blood," continues:

"Which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding *the same thing to be done*. For, that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated, you either know or can learn."⁴⁶

Tertullian (who wrote about 190 to 210 A. D.) also says in his Prescription against Heretics, chap. XL:

"The question will arise. By whom is to be interpreted the sense of the passages which make for heresies? By the devil, of course, to whom pertain those wiles which pervert the truth, and who, by the mystic rites of his idols, vies even with *the essential portions of the sacraments of God*. . . . He, too, baptises some—that is his own believers and faithful followers; he promises the putting away of sins by a laver [of his own]: and if my memory still serves me, Mithra there [in the kingdom of Satan] set his marks on the foreheads of his soldiers; celebrates also the oblation of bread, and introduces an image of a resurrection. . . . Is it not clear to us that the devil imitated the well-known moroseness of the Jewish law? Since, therefore, he has shown such emulation in his great aim of expressing, in the concerns of his idolatry, those *very things of which consists the administration of Christ's sacraments*, it follows, of course, that the same being, possessing still the same genius, both set his heart upon, and succeeded in adapting to his profane and rival creed the very documents of divine things and of the Christian saints."

The Catholic missionary Huc, who visited Tibet about 1845, found there a ceremony which he called "the Buddhist Eucharist." The ceremony is described at length by Mr. I. A. Waddell, but his account is too long to quote in full here. He says: "This sacrament is celebrated with much pomp at stated periods, on a lucky day, about once a week in the larger temples, and attracts numerous votaries. Crowds throng to the temple to receive the coveted blessing."

The officiating priest, or Lama, prepares himself for the ceremony by fasting, bathing and prayer, etc. Among the accessories for the ceremony are, "wine of life, consisting of beer in a skull-

⁴⁶ Justin Martyr, in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. ii, p. 65.

bowl"; "pills of life, made of flour, sugar and butter," wafers, made of "flour, butter and rice," a "divining dagger, with silk tassels," and a "divining bolt" and a "thunderbolt scepter" with a string attached.

To prepare himself for the ceremony the Lama applies "to his own bosom, over his heart" one end of a string, the other end of which runs to the thunderbolt scepter, resting in the lap of the "great image of Buddha Amitayas." And the account says: "Thus, through the string, as by a telegraph wire, passes the divine spirit, and the Lama must mentally conceive that his heart is in actual union with that of the god Amitayas, and that, for the time being, *he is himself that god.*"

Having thus become possessed by the spirit of the god Amitayas, so that he is "himself that god," he conducts the ceremonies. He makes an offering to the evil spirits to drive them away, offers prayers, etc. At the conclusion of the service the Lama "bestows his blessings, as the incarnate Amitayas as well as the other gods of longevity, by laying on of hands, and he distributes the consecrated water and food to the assembled multitude.... Each worshiper now receives from the skull-bowl a drop of the sacred wine which he piously swallows; and each also receives three of the holy pills (made of flour, sugar and butter) the plateful of which had been consecrated by the touch of the Lama. These pills must be swallowed on the spot."⁴⁷

Since the time of the Reformation the tendency of the Protestants has been to reject the doctrine of the "Real Presence" or "Transubstantiation," but among leading reformers like Zwingli, Luther and Calvin, there was considerable difference of opinion on this subject. Zwingli, from the first, was inclined to make the Communion merely a commemoration service, while Luther clung more to the Catholic view. These differences have been reflected more or less among different branches of the Protestants to the present day. The confessions of faith which were adopted were largely attempts to compromise different views, but on the whole the tendency of the Protestant churches has been to make the Communion largely commemorative. The Westminster Confession thus defined the question: "That doctrine which maintains a change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood (commonly called Transubstantiation) by consecration of a priest, or by any other way, is repugnant, not to scripture alone, but even to common sense and reason." The thirty-nine articles

⁴⁷ Waddell's *Lamaism*, pp. 444-448.

of the English Church say that "to such as with faith receive the same it is a partaking of the body of Christ," but they add: "The body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner."⁴⁸

Summary.—The evidence, a part of which we have tried to give above, appears to indicate that in the original form of this ceremony a man was believed to be possessed by a spirit (god) so that he became a man-god, and was worshiped. He was then killed, and eaten by the people, who sought in this way to acquire his powers.

Then the ceremony was modified, and an image of a man was made of dough, or some similar substance. Into this image a spirit (god) was believed to enter, and it was then "sacrificed," broken into pieces, and eaten by the people, imitating the method of eating the human victim. In Mexico this was called killing and eating the god.

By a further modification the dough image would decline to the small cake or wafer. But this wafer was believed to possess all the attributes of the sacrificed man or image. Also wine took the place of blood. In Christian countries this modified ceremony took the form of the Eucharist, and the earlier form disappeared. But the memory of its original form was still kept up by insisting that by some exercise of divine power the wafer was changed to real flesh, and the wine to real blood, so that in the modified, as well as in the original form, those partaking might eat the flesh and drink the blood of the sacrificed man-god. This appears to be the origin and real meaning of the doctrine of Transubstantiation⁴⁹ the history of which dates back to the age of primitive man. The doctrine is venerable when we consider its hoary antiquity, and we may

⁴⁸ That by the early Christian Church this ceremony was regarded as something *more* than a mere commemorative service seems clear, for Justin Martyr (who lived about 100 to 160 A. D.) says in his first apology, speaking of the bread and wine: "This food we call the Eucharist, of which none are allowed to be partakers but such only as are true believers, and have been baptized in the laver of regeneration for remission of sins, and live according to Christ's precepts; for we do not take this as common bread and common wine; but as Jesus Christ our Saviour was made flesh by the Logos of God, and had real flesh and blood for our salvation, so are we taught that this food, which the very same Logos blessed by prayer and thanksgiving, is turned into the nourishment and substance of our flesh and blood, and is in some sense *the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus.*"

⁴⁹ At the Council of Trent (1545-1563 A. D.) the Roman Catholic Church thus defined transubstantiation: "If any one shall say that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there remains the substance of bread and wine together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and the whole substance of the wine into the blood, the species of bread and wine alone remaining—which conversion the Catholic Church most fittingly calls Transubstantiation—let him be anathema."

say that in the conception of faithful worshipers the present form has lost its original meaning. It has become a ceremony sanctioned by tradition and possessed of the mystery of religious awe. It should be said, however, that according to the logic of early ages the transformation of bread and wine to real flesh and blood was not considered miraculous and would not have seemed improbable. This is shown, for example, in the Mexican ceremony described above, in which pieces of paste shaped by the virgins were called "the flesh and bones of Vitziliputzli," and the people saw nothing improbable in the assertion, although it would be doubted in this age.

At the time of the Reformation the Protestant reformers rejected the doctrine of the "real presence" or "transubstantiation," and the ceremony was still further modified, so that it became the Protestant Communion Service. Instead of trying, like the Catholics, to eat the real flesh and drink the real blood of the sacrificed man-god, it then tended to become a commemorative observance.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

A DEDUCTIVE STUDY OF SEMITIC CULTURE.

BY PHILLIPS ENDECOTT OSGOOD.

[CONTINUED.]

EGYPT.

IX.

If the main lines of Phœnician temples are Egyptian, there may be some data in that same source tending toward the clarification of Solomon's Temple.

The ancient empire of the ten Memphite dynasties left no temples of type analogous to that in hand, their very great antiquity being naturally concomitant with more primitive formlessness. The middle empire, with the capital at Thebes, leaves hardly a trace of its architecture as relic of the great and strenuous history of that evolution which culminated in the Hyksos Kings' supremacy. It is the Sait empire (21st to 30th dynasties) that has left us most of what survives to-day, although the later Theban dynasties (Rameses II was of the 18th) seem to have worked toward the Sait style. Since it is not until Sheshonk I²⁴ that we get contemporary with Solomon's day, it is permissible to use the temple of the new empire alone as the prototype of Phœnicia's adaptations.

The temple of the new empire seems to be marked by nothing so much as by complexity. A simple example is hard to find. When a temple was complete in all its parts, any monarch who wished his name to be perpetuated there, simply added a new building to it, which addition could only be a replica of some part already standing. Indefinite accretions give us the apparent complexity of Karnak.

But a simple example is most surely found in the temple of Khons²⁵ (Fig. 7) whose simplicity seems to have been left un-

²⁴ His accession was 980 B. C.

²⁵ So used by Perrot & Chipiez (*Egyptian Art*, vol. I) and Lenormant (*Temple de Jerusalem*) c. g., pl. 19. (a cross section).

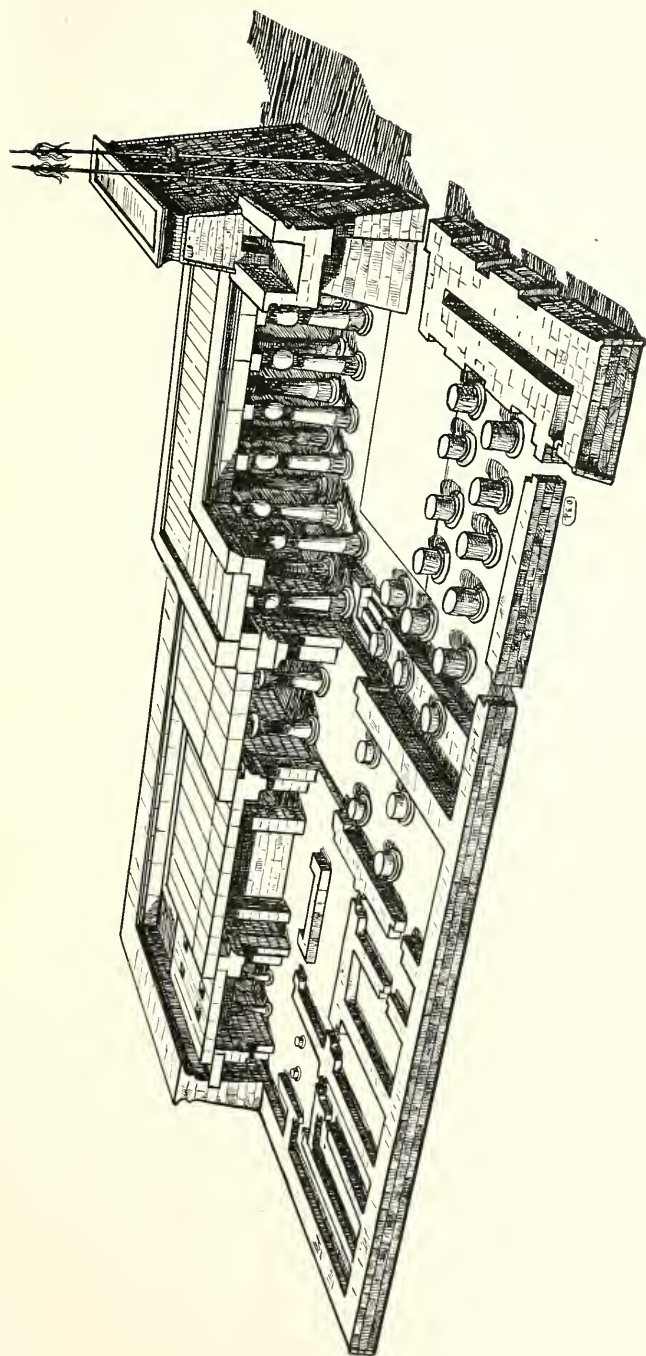


Fig. 7. THE TEMPLE OF KHONS: HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL SECTION.
 From Perrot & Chipiez, *Hist. of Ancient Egyptian Art*. Vol. I, fig. 208.

touched from a very early date (Rameses III?), though in the near neighborhood of the great temple of Karnak itself.

First of all, the temple proper of Egypt is enclosed by a high wall which serves (1) to mark the external limits of the temple, (2) to protect the sacred place from injury and (3) to act as a curtain between the curiosity of the profane crowd and the holy mysteries within. Avenues of Sphinxes lead up to the gateways from far away. Within the gates begins the sacred enclosure,²⁶ within which all religious ceremonies are performed. The temple proper may or may not have such honorable and majestic forecourts. Khons has no outer wall at all; Karnak has four successive courtyards to be crossed before the shrine is reached.

The universal form of gateway is the *pylon*, whether it be in the walls (pro-pylon) or in the temple building. A pylon is of three parts. (A) a tall, rectangular doorway flanked (B and C) by a truncated, pyramidal mass on either side, rising high above its lintel. The object is purely ornamental, the outer and inner faces being profusely carved in low relief with scenes representing the monarch as the friend of the temple-god. Inside, the pylons are partly hollow; access to the small chambers is by means of ladders (in the earliest examples) or by winding stairs about a central, square newel (in the later).

In front of the pylon generally stand two obelisks, a few feet away from the base of the pyramid-masses; and, in really complete temples, just behind the obelisks and in contact with the pylons sit colossal statues of the king. To two obelisks there may be four or six statues. The obelisks extant vary from sixty to a hundred feet in height and the statues from twenty to forty-five. The pylon and its decorations thus compose the entire façade of the temple.²⁷

Behind the *portico* comes a rectangular *Peristylar court*. The colonnade is of a double row of columns in front of a solid (sloping) wall. From this court a doorway leads into a hall of little depth, but of a width equal to the whole temple, whose roof is supported by close-set columns. This *Hypostyle hall* corresponds to the *Pro-naos* of Greek temples. It is the "Hall of Appearance," into which only kings and priests are allowed to penetrate. The outer "Hall of Assembly" must suffice all others. The hypostyle hall is so thickly set with pillars in some of the larger temples that little, if any,

²⁶ Called the *τέμενος* in Greek temples.

²⁷ In the temple of Khons there are neither obelisks nor statues, but whether this is due to the minor importance of the temple, or to the removability of such small-sized relics as would be here proportional, it is not possible to tell.

vista is possible. This comes from the limitations imposed by stone slabs as roofing material.

Behind the hypostyle hall, there is a rectangular chamber, separated on all its four sides by a wide corridor from small chambers which fill in the space left vacant. This chamber we easily recognize as the "*Holy of Holies*," the "*Cella*" of the shrine.²⁸ Fragments

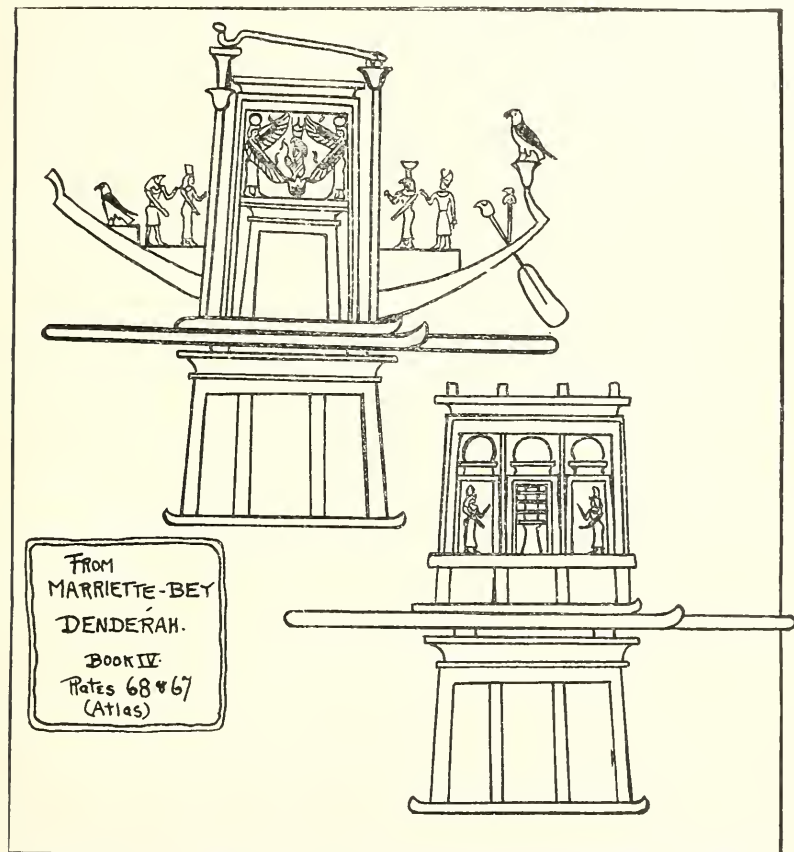


Fig. 8. THE SACRED BOAT (BARI) OR ARK OF EGYPTIAN GODS.

From Mariette-Bey, *Dendérah*, Book IV, pl. 67 and 68.

of a granite pedestal have been found here, upon which must have been placed either the "bari" or sacred boat, as often figured in bas-reliefs (see Fig. 8) or some other receptacle of the emblem of the local divinity. Strabo tells us with surprise²⁹ that there was no

²⁸ Strabo names it the *σηκός*.

²⁹ Strabo Bk. XVII, I.

statue of the divinity here; but there must have been something to distinguish it from the less sacred parts of the building, and the identification of this something with a little shrine is patent. It is therefore far from guesswork to find in Egypt the prototype of at least the Ark for which Solomon built the Temple, and the thought of a Holiest Place therein where the sacred chest should rest.

The smaller rooms round about must have been used as subsidiary chapels for consort and subsidiary gods, and for store-room and treasury purposes as well. They are indefinitely multiplied in larger temples.

Such was the basic idea of the Egyptian temple. Its details I postpone until I come to the Temple at Jerusalem, where some of them are of possible use.

X.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.—GENERAL ENVIRONMENT.

The actual reconstruction of the Temple at Jerusalem is incomplete without some slight idea of its setting. In the adornments of his capital, Solomon included the Temple within the citadel, his castle. The group of structures thus included comprised not only the king's residence, the palace for his chief wife, the daughter of Pharaoh (built in Egyptian style that she might feel at home?), the apartments of his other wives, but also a magnificent hall of audience for state occasions,³⁰ a smaller hall of judgment and the Temple (cf. Fig. 9). There seems to be no doubt left as to the site.³¹ It is known in the Old Testament both as Zion and Moriah; in modern times as the Haram esh Sherif. In all probability it had been David's citadel, now enlarged to take in more of the hill for the accomodation of Solomon's more comprehensive and impressive massing of buildings. The natural unevenness of the ground was largely overcome by filling in the lower places, with retaining walls such as Herod later built. The enormous number of laborers required to "build the Temple" expended most of the seven years ascribed, not on the comparatively small building itself, but on the wonderful masonry substructure necessitated to raise the plateau to the level of the Temple court. Probably as much as one-third of the hill had to be built. The artificial plateau must have numbered at least fifteen acres. To-day it rises eighty feet above the

³⁰ The House of the Forest of Lebanon.

³¹ There has been much controversy between the advocates of the western and the eastern hills, but it seems to be settled in favor of the western one by excavations (Wilson and Warren) which show the substructure intact.

debris,—debris so great that the bed of the Kidron has been moved laterally eighty feet and raised forty. Excavations have shown it to reach to the depth of twenty-five meters. The foundation stones thus exposed are well finished, showing they were originally in

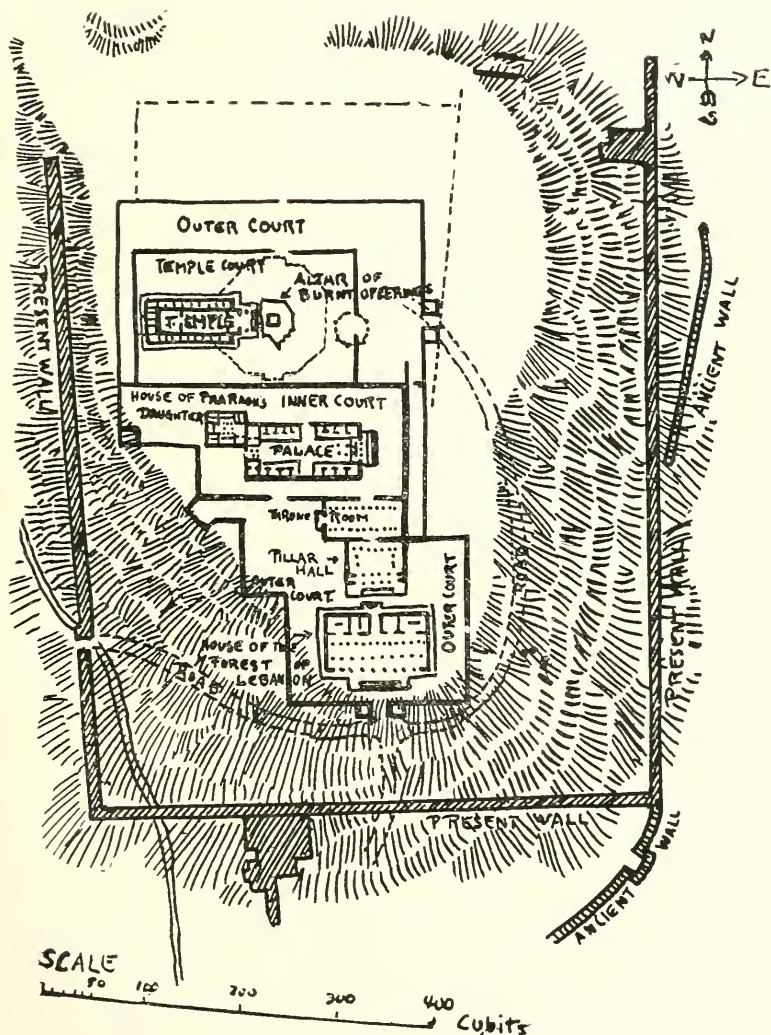


Fig. 9. MAP OF SOLOMON'S CITADEL.

view. The method of their finishing is that called "rusticating," i. e., the main surface of the stones is left rough, but the edges are sunken and smoothed, so that when the blocks are *in situ* the joined

edges form shallow, sunken channels. But this is a method of stone-dressing it is hard to carry further back than the time of Herod.³² The enormous size of the blocks,³³ reminding one of those in the wall of Baalbek, is remarked upon by Josephus of Herod's temple. Solomon's substructure, if anything, goes yet deeper.

The natural unevenness of the hill cannot, however, have been entirely overcome, for constant usage speaks of "going up" from the palace to the Temple. The Temple must have stood at the highest point, with the palace lower down to the south, and still lower the houses of the town. The sacredness of hill-tops is common to all Semitic religions. So we are justified in assigning this native summit as the original reason of its consecration. Probably we may go further and say it was already consecrated to the *genius loci* before David captured the city, in which case Yahveh simply adopted the locality; as at Gibeon, a Canaanitish town, he had displaced the local Baal, or become merged in him. This was no unusual process.

That the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite had been within so short a step of David's palace is hard to believe, especially since the palace must have been the highest fortified point in Jerusalem. The site of Solomon's Temple could not have been determined by this. It is natural to suppose that the Temple gradually attached to itself legends originally concerned with other sanctuaries and that this is one such. Solomon built his court chapel in the citadel near his palace. As a hill-top it may have been sacred, but mere convenience of location, as better lending itself to the scheme of the whole, must have been the determinant motive of its situation.

XI.

SOURCES (DOCUMENTARY).

The scantiness of information concerning Solomon's other buildings seems to be for the sake of giving space to the description of the Temple. Some may claim that the description of the palace etc. represents about the true quantum of the knowledge the writers really had and that whatever accuracy and description of glories goes beyond that quantum in the Temple-depiction is invention, pure and simple. But difference of estimate would be enough to

³² The red vermilion marks on the bottom stones cannot be defined as a dated Semitic alphabet, but are probably mason's marks.

³³ Some of them weigh at least 100 tons.

make the Temple bulk larger in their eyes than any palace buildings, since they wrote from a pietistic standpoint. The Temple, even while it remained an innovation, was of cardinal interest.

In the Old Testament there are three accounts of the Temple:

(1) 1 Kings v-viii. This leaves out much that is absolutely essential to a clear understanding of the structure, using technical terms whose meaning seems to have disappeared as completely as has the Temple itself. Attempts to reconstruct their contents must always be attended by a high degree of uncertainty.

The last important event known to the author is in the latter part of the exile, making it therefore entirely possible to doubt whether the writer had any first-hand knowledge of what he is describing here. Yet the ground work of Kings seems to have been a more or less contemporary compilation from the archives, later worked over into our present form. At any rate the text is very corrupt as we have it, and needs careful emendation. There is, probably, a residuum of first-hand knowledge as the kernel of the account, but it is so overgrown with traditions as to the cost of the materials, the number of laborers, gold plating, etc. that little reliance can be put on anything not elsewhere duplicated.

(2) 2 Chronicles ii-vi. This is the latest of the three versions of the Temple description. Chronicles, however sincere may have been the spirit of the compiler, was written from the point of view of a Jerusalem priest sometime after the return, whose one idea was to glorify the past and make the true Israel seem as orthodox three hundred years earlier as in the priest-ruled, restored nation. David is therefore represented as having received the plan of the Temple from Yahveh himself; and the long description of the Temple is filled with little but the enumeration of the costly gold and brass, and the skill which decorated it. With no first-hand knowledge, the Chronicler doubles or quadruples measurements, exactly as his priestly, orthodox, and esthetic eye would like to have seen the original Temple.

(3) Ezekiel xl-xlii. In this alone do we get apparently first-hand knowledge. Ezekiel had been a priest in the Temple before the Exile. Probably it had changed little from Solomon's day, however much its ritual and significance to the nation had altered. The vision of the Temple which the prophet saw on the banks of the river Chebar must have been based more or less upon the actual, though now destroyed, Temple in Jerusalem. His visions are full and exact, and enable us to fill in many gaps in the other accounts; but at the same time we must remember that this passage describes

an imaginative temple and is not hampered by facts if Ezekiel's ideal is otherwise. Besides, how much of the dimensions of his church can even the most long-settled minister remember, once away from it for years? Ezekiel may be our best authority for the reconstruction of Solomon's Temple, but even he is pitifully inadequate.

Secondary references may be found in Josephus and the Rabbinical *Tract Middoth*, but these are both so based on Herod's Temple as to be worthless, unless in some few points where we need them not at all.

Our information is small, both documentary and monumental. "Historic probability" is the best guide. And this can be so variously twisted that it is small wonder an amateur museum might be stocked with the diverse ideals and reconstructions it is used to justify. I do not claim to have found the solution which will set the discussion of Solomon's Temple at rest; my claim is to add to the collection a reconstruction I have not been able to find, but which seems just as probable as any. Certainty is happily beyond the reach of any man.

XII.

WAS THERE A ROOF ON THE TEMPLE?

I take my major problem first. So far as I know, the existence of a roof on the Temple has not been doubted. The Old Testament accounts have seemed to take it for granted. Modern consciousness seems to think one necessary to every building, ancient or modern. Yet, despite all this, I have ventured to doubt the existence of the roof in this present case.

(1) *Historic Probability.* The section on Phœnician temples had an ulterior motive; i. e., to show that Phœnician architecture did not contemplate a roof when concerned with temple-building. But the conclusion grew by simple study of the data, not from preconceived intent to be original. The endeavor to prove that the type of architecture depicted on Paphos coins (Figs. 1-5) was identical with that which was contemporary with Hiram of Tyre, so noted as a temple-builder, gave the basis for the claim that both were hypæthral.

Phœnicians did not build hypostyle courts like those of Egypt, for they were unable to afford such luxuries. The Phœnician genius was adaptation, and adaptation always omits that structural portion which is not essential to the *idea*, especially if at the same

time that portion happens to be the most difficult one to reproduce. In Phœnicia there was no proper stone out of which the necessary roofing material could well be made. To be sure, on the Egyptian temple there was a covered court, but this was the very portion that was least essential to its idea. The hypostyle hall was so thickly set with pillars (because of the shortness of the roofing slabs) that the congregating of any number of people was out of the question; ritual itself was banished to the outer, peristyle court. The hypostyle hall served its purpose well. It was put there to act as a screen, pure and simple; to keep the gaze of the vulgar and curious from the sacred oracle of the god. The hypostyle court was the implement by which the taboo-separation was enforced. Phœnicians had two alternatives in their adaptation if they did not care to copy slavishly and lose that precious modicum of originality upon which they seem always to have insisted (perhaps unconsciously), so that Phœnician gods were trade-marked as such, though their motives, likely enough, were frankly borrowed. The first alternative was to cover in the whole court, i. e., to enlarge the "cella" until its mystery should compass the whole shrine and leave the openness of the outer court enough for all the popular worship. The other was to keep the shrine small, perhaps to reduce it to the god's symbol only, (though small chapel-like shrines of tiny size have been authenticated as the center of the open-courted temple) and to increase the open space by making one more courtyard intervene before the shrine;—that is, the central object (in whatever form) being the "Holiest Place," whether the next outer concentric circle of impression should be a mere enlargement from within of the same quality of building, sacred and mysterious, or whether it should be something more definitely marked from the point of view of the incoming worshiper as an approach *to* that sacred presence. It is natural that the question should be decided in favor of the simpler open court, doubly so when the deities of the nation were so simply embodied in rocks, trees, and posts, and the "Holy Place" of the god or goddess was reduced at its very core to a simple cone, uncovered by vestige of mystery. If precedent probability does not require a roof, neither does the evidence of subsequent architecture. For we are certain that, if Solomon's Temple had a roof, it was an engineering feat of such great originality, and an innovation in architecture so complete, that the effects must have survived somewhere in the following years. But such we cannot find. Roofed buildings of so great an expanse do not come for centuries.

(2) *Practical Possibility.* If we are historically justified in daring to doubt the roofed character of Solomon's Temple, we are likewise justified in acknowledging the practical difficulty of roofing such a space.

Solomon's Temple was twenty cubits broad and sixty-odd long, inside measure (i. e., not counting the surrounding stories of chambers). A cubit seems to have corresponded to an Egyptian ell, which was about $20\frac{2}{3}$ inches. The building cubit apparently was a handbreadth longer than the cubit in ordinary use.³⁴ This necessitates a roof that shall clear a little over thirty-four feet, the shortest way for the timbers. Could cedar beams support a roof of planks and stamped earth of such dimensions, when the longitudinal sagging would still more increase the weight? On the face of it, it is absurd.³⁵ Some other shift must be devised to meet the demand. Stade³⁶ suggests some kind of trusses springing from the upper walls on both sides, but this is both ungraceful and unsupported by historic precedent or Biblical data (though the latter lack is not overmuch to be considered). Even so the weight would be most uncomfortably great, and no competent means of fastening such braces to the wall is thinkable for the period considered. It has been suggested that the ceiling beams may have been warped before they were put in place, to counteract by the upthrust of their artificial curve the downthrust of the roof. Disregarding the historical possibility of such knowledge, there are still two other facts that make such a thing doubtful: (a) a warped beam under pressure will not stay warped forever, especially if moisture can get at it (as moisture eventually could through stamped earth), and (b) there would be a lateral thrust exerted upon the walls which would be considerable from such weight, if the warping carried the center of the beam anything above the level of insertion. These walls were thick, but were put together without cohesive cement of any kind.

A still further possibility is that of Schmidt³⁷ who suggests columns five cubits from each side wall to form a support for the rest of the wall (making a clerestory), basing his suggestion on 1 Kings x. 12. Aside from the unreliability of the verse, such a

³⁴ Deuteronomy iii, (שָׁמַר אֶת הַמִּצְוָה) as compared with Ezekiel xl. 5 and xliii. 13, and 2 Chron. iii. 3.

³⁵ Strabo (Bk. XIV, C I, Casabeb 634) says: "The Milesians built a temple which exceeded in size all others, but it remained without a roof on account of its size." This is much later. If we only knew the dimensions!

³⁶ Siegfried Stade, ZATW, iii, *ad. loc.*

³⁷ Cf. Commentary on Kings *ad loc.*

possibility is unthinkable. Clerestories were first heard of in Romanesque and Gothic architecture. Also think of the weight the "almug tree" supports would have to carry; the roof weight (though narrowed, still appreciable) and all but ten cubits of the side walls, i. e., twenty vertical cubits of stone! To say nothing of the difficulties this would get us into with the peripheral chambers!

Fergusson³⁸ argues for eight pillars in the Holy Place, supporting the roof nearer its center. This is most reasonable of all. But the difficulty of forty-five or fifty-foot pillars made of wood is obvious, as is also the necessity of some lateral tie, part of the distance up. 1 Kings x. 12 and 1 Kings xviii. 6 are cited as his justification, and also the existence of the ten lamps etc. as arguing ten spaces to be filled.³⁹

But all these difficulties are overcome in the idea of a court, open to the sky, with a peristyle surrounding it; which takes in all the pillars necessary, which can very easily contain all the cedar beams and planks mentioned in the "cielings"⁴⁰ and which, besides, has the merit of historic lineage.

Such a reconstruction, however, is open to two substantial objections, which must be faced. In the first place we are expressly told in all the accounts that the temple was sheathed within with cedar so that not a stone was to be seen. It would be difficult to keep sheathing in good repair above the line of the peristyle, and it would look queer to see wood on the inside and stone on the outside. I have only two possible suggestions to make. (a) May not "within" mean within the peristyle, i. e., under its cover, where also only the floor would be laid, and no stone seen? (b) May not the "within and without"⁴¹ ascribed to the gold floor covering be analogy enough to prove a like obvious tampering with the text allotting to the carving of the cherubim, palm trees, etc. a similar position?⁴²

The second difficulty is the crucial one. Cyprus has no rainy season of any considerable violence or duration. Neither has Egypt. In Palestine, however, more rain falls in three months than the average rainfall of the whole year round in England. An open-court temple would be a dismal and sloppy place during the rainy

³⁸ Fergusson. *The Temples of the Jews*, p. 28 f.

³⁹ I do not consider as worth consideration any such anachronous conjectures as a gable-roof implies. Such a roof cannot have appeared before the time of Herod, at least, i. e., until Greek influence gave the example. Semitic roofs are flat.

⁴⁰ 1 Kings vi. 15-18, etc.

⁴¹ 1 Kings vi. 30.

⁴² 1 Kings vi. 29.

season. The table of the shewbread etc. could be moved back under the cover of the peristyle, but further protection is necessary. This protection awnings would provide, awnings either of skins or of Tyrian stuff, which was often so thick as surely to be water-proof. Figures 4 and 5 above may evidence the validity of a conjecture also suggested by the common use of awnings in Egypt and Assyria.

So far as the rainy season goes, Phœnicia proper, too, gets its share of rainfall; and the Phœnician style of architecture starts, not in Cyprus, but at home. If Phœnicia itself had possessed any rain-proof structure, we probably should have found some evidence of it in her colonies. She would not have been able to keep one style for "home consumption" and another for her "colonial export trade." If the Temple at Jerusalem is faced by the problem of the rainy season, so are the neighboring ones in Tyre and Sidon, whose open courts seem well authenticated.⁴³

(3) *Biblical Possibility.* There is evidence of pillars of some kind within the house, as they are repeatedly mentioned. There seem to have been four in the Holy of Holies, but they are not the only ones in the "House" by any means.

As to the ceiling, the Hebrew text need give no data for more than that of a peristyle if there is no preconceived notion to be gotten out of the text. 1 Kings vi. 9 ("he covered the house with beams and boards of cedar") is taken by the Septuagint and a small modern minority to mean the covering of the walls, and 1 Kings vii. 7 certainly shows the same verb can be so used for wainscoting. 1 Kings vi. 15 has the word ceiling in it⁴⁴, but it can apply equally well to the ceiling of the peristyle. The beams must have been covered above with limestone as protection from the weather, wherever placed.

I find no decisive reason for abandoning the conclusion to which the architectural pedigree of Solomon's Temple brought me, that it had an open peristylar court. Heredity seems to hold true.

XIII.

THE TEMPLE BUILDING.

(1) *General Dimensions.* There are curiously few variations in the ground-plan of the Temple (Fig. 10), since all the data are so comparatively devoted to length and breadth, and not to elevation.

⁴³ Cf. Biblos, Fig. 6.

⁴⁴ Instead of "walls" we must read "beams"—making it "From the floor of the house unto the beams of the ceiling"—which helps the contention above that the sheathing extended only "within" the colonnade.

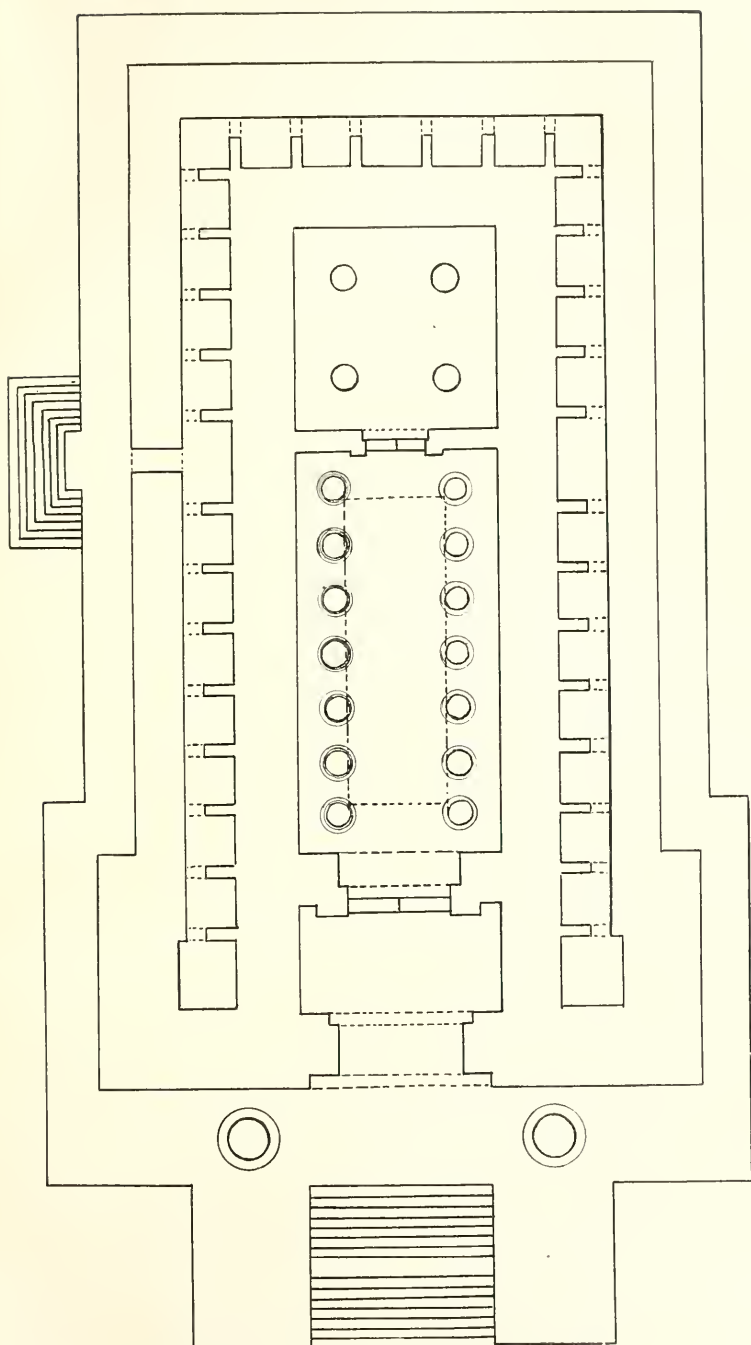


Fig. 10. GROUND PLAN OF TEMPLE.

The Kings and Chronicles accounts give us the length of the "House" (i. e., of the Temple proper, exclusive of the porch and the surrounding tiers of rooms, which are spoken of continually in a very *re-moved* way) as sixty cubits in all;⁴⁵ forty in the Holy Place (the *Hekal*) and twenty in the Holy of Holies (the *Debir*).⁴⁶ These are apparently inside measurements, with no allowance made for the thickness of the dividing partition. Twenty cubits is given as the breadth of both Hekal and Debir.⁴⁷ Ezekiel gives the length of the Temple, on the other hand, as one hundred cubits⁴⁸ (east to west) and from his account we get our data to fill in the *plan*. The Holy of Holies is twenty cubits, the court is forty, and the porch ten.⁴⁹ The rooms back of the Debir are five cubits wide.⁵⁰ This gives for room space seventy-five cubits. The chamber-wall at the back is given as five cubits,⁵¹ the "wall of the House" is six cubits,⁵² which is both back and front of the "House," the porch door jamb is six cubits likewise,⁵³ and the dividing wall between the Debir and Hekal fills in the remaining two. This foots up the necessary hundred. The same elements give us the width of the building as fifty-two cubits. The height throughout is given as thirty cubits.⁵⁴ On the old and accepted idea of a roofed building, discussion centered much, therefore, on the question whether there was a room over the Holy of Holies, whose cubical form⁵⁵ would leave ten cubits' space below the roof, or whether the Debir was externally lower than the roof of the house, or even whether there might not be an upper room over *all* the house.⁵⁶ This problem disappears with the open-court idea, leaving the Debir as the only roofed room set in the end of a rectangular space, enclosed by a thirty-cubit wall.

For these and the following details cf. the plan (Fig. 10) and the longitudinal, vertical section (Fig. 11) which better visualize them.

⁴⁵ 1 Kings vi. 2b.

⁴⁶ 2 Chron. iii. 8.

⁴⁷ 1 Kings vi. 2b.

⁴⁸ Ezek. xli. 15

⁴⁹ 1 Kings vi. 3; 2 Chron. iii. 4.

⁵⁰ 1 Kings vi. 6. Ezek. xli seems to be wrong (four cubits).

⁵¹ Ezek. xli. 9.

⁵² Ezek. xli. 5.

⁵³ Ezek. xl. 48 plus the extra cubit of the breadth of the porch he gives.

⁵⁴ 1 Kings vi. 2.

⁵⁵ 1 Kings vi. 20.

⁵⁶ Basing the question on the meaning of מַעְבָּדִים (Septuagint τὸ ὑπερῶν) in 2 Chronicles iii. 9, which more obviously means the upper surrounding chambers.

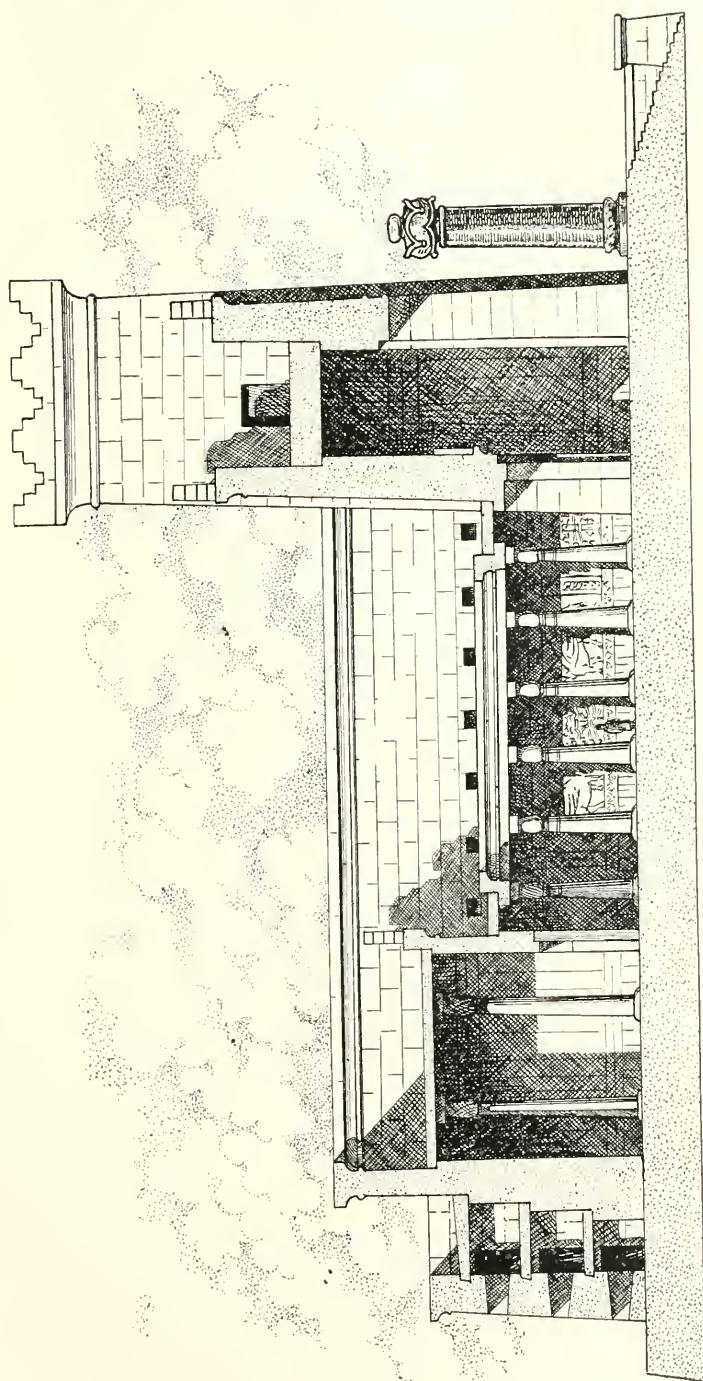


Fig. 11. SOLOMON'S TEMPLE. LONGITUDINAL SECTION.

(2) *The Porch*. Upon the front of the building rose the porch, though it is always spoken of almost as though it were not joined to the House. Its dimensions are variously given. Twenty cubits seems to have been the width⁵⁷ corresponding to the breadth of the House. This, of course is interior measure. The depth (again interior) is given in Kings as ten cubits,⁵⁸ but by Ezekiel as eleven.⁵⁹ Ten is, of course, the correct number, since Semitic love of proportion would make the porch half the Debir's length, which in its turn was half that of the Hekal. Ezekiel's accuracy, however, I do not doubt; but suggest the usual Egyptian section of the door-jamb which gives the actual door-post a buttress of a few inches; in this case probably a round cubit. This gives the door-jamb a thickness of five cubits, but the wall one of six (cf. plan, Fig. 11).

The height of the porch is not told us except in Chronicles,⁶⁰ where it is put at 120 cubits! This is not believable, (though Perrot & Chipiez, recognizing Ezekiel's temple as ideal, give this height as a good climax to the successive gateways.)⁶¹ This of course would be external measure. We have noticed the Chronicler's propensity to exaggeration, which generally takes the form of doubling and quadrupling. Here one-half the given height would be most fitting, giving 60 cubits, which is approximately the length of the house. This is meagre data but there is possible reinforcement to be found in two other places. Ezra⁶² and Esdras⁶³ inferentially state the propylon to have been 60×60 cubits. These dimensions were in the rescript of Cyrus, which the Jews seem to have brought with them on their return from exile. It is most improbable, when permission to rebuild was given and measurements were specified, that these dimensions should not correspond to the old Temple. When Jerusalem was captured, the Assyrians quite probably noted the details of the Temple as being the most sacred possession of the Jews, and so these records were put in the record-chamber at Babylon or Ecbatana, where Cyrus unearthed them.

But, even accepting these dimensions, the form of the porch is still vague and indeterminate. Conjecture is legitimate. Some

⁵⁷ 1 Kings vi. 3. 2 Chron. iii. 4.

⁵⁸ 1 Kings vi. 3.

⁵⁹ Ezek. xl. 49.

⁶⁰ 2 Chron. iii. 4.

⁶¹ Perrot & Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judea, Syria and Asia Minor*, Chap. IV, pp. 201 ff.

⁶² Ezra vi. 1 ff.

⁶³ 1 Esdras vi. 22 ff.

modification of the Egyptian pylon⁶⁴ is most naturally to be supplied. As we look at the Paphos coins we see a rudimentary pylon facing us. The flanking masses, as compared with the Egyptian originals, are shrunken in width almost to the appearance of pillars. The doorway, in proportion, has enlarged. How shall we interpret these "pictures"? In the first place, the narrowing of the pylons may be arbitrary, to show the side wings, which in reality are behind them, just as the "ashera pillars" are in reality in front of them. The raising of the doorway may be for the sake of giving the representation of the sacred cone more room. The coins give us an abstraction of an architectural form which in itself was likewise an abstraction of Egyptian forms. The gateway, it is clear, was to the Phœnician the most impressive adjunct of the temple; and the mention of the porch in all three Biblical accounts with such emphasis gives a slight degree of probability to the same deduction in Jerusalem, which is further increased by reassertion of Phœnician authorship. If this is true, Egypt need not supply all the material for reconstruction. Assyria may largely be drawn upon for ornamentation and subsidiary forms.

I do not believe the gateway of the Temple to have been a single (sloping-sided) plinth, as some reconstructions have suggested. The three parts to a gateway of any importance are to be found both in Egypt, Phœnicia and Assyria, (though in the last the sloping walls are absent). A doorway, flanked by buttress-masses rising above its crown on either side, seems obvious. Whether the doorway was recessed or salient between them is debatable, but I have chosen the recessed doorway (as against Egyptian precedent) because the Paphos coins seem slightly to favor such a decision, and because in Ezekiel's measurements of the porch we are told that the breadth of the door(gate) was "three cubits on this side and three cubits on that"⁶⁵ which I take to mean the breadth of the doorposts on their outside face, showing some kind of demarcation from the surface beyond. This is well within the realm of probability, especially since it follows the Assyrian type of gateway (Fig. 12) to some degree, and we know the Phœnicians used the Assyrian stepped ornament wherever they found a possible chance.

The predominant effect, however, must have been more Egyptian than Assyrian, since the sloping lines of the buttresses are the dominant features. I have crowned the buttresses and the doorway

⁶⁴ Cf. Fig. 6, p. 626.

⁶⁵ Ezekiel xl. 45.

with the Egyptian gorge (Fig. 13), in turn surmounted by the Assyrian stepped ornament, a favorite Phœnician trick.

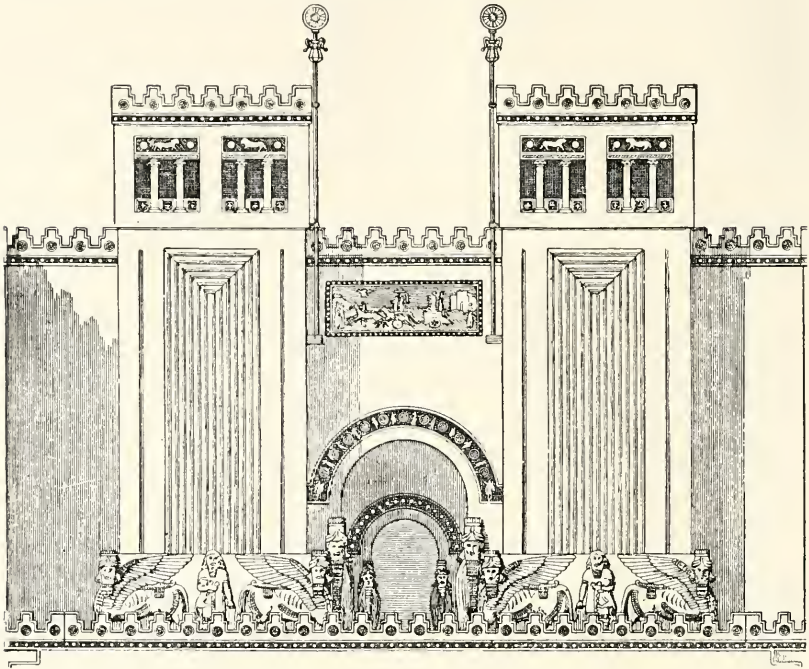


Fig. 12. ASSYRIAN GATEWAY.

Southeastern gateway of Sargon's Palace at Khorsabad. (Compiled from Thomas by Perrot & Chipiez, *Chaldea and Assyria*, Vol. II, p. 17, pl. 5.)

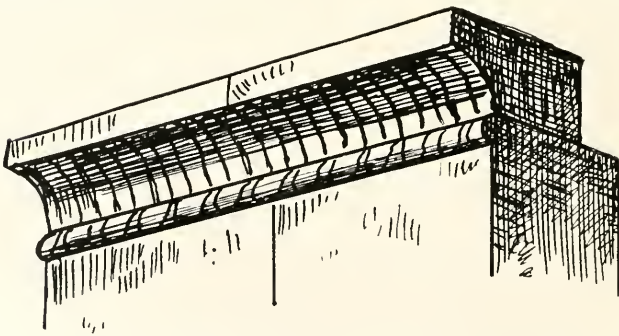


Fig. 13. THE EGYPTIAN GORGE OR CORNICE.

Perrot & Chipiez, *Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 102, fig. 67.

The doorway may have been almost any height. Many have put Jachin and Boaz under its architrave as supporting pillars, making

its height equal to their twenty-three cubits. But in my idea of the Temple, Jachin and Boaz are most assuredly the porch (cf. § XIV below). The portal must be impressive, but its inner wall cannot go above the insert of the roof of the peristyle within, if that is to surround the Hekal on all four sides. I have therefore made the outer opening twenty-three cubits high, and the inner one, in which were placed the great doors of olive wood, comes down to twelve.

The porch as viewed from the front (east) is shown in the elevation given in Fig. 14.

(3) *The Hekal*. There is little to be said about this when it is once decided what its fate shall be. The only questions to be

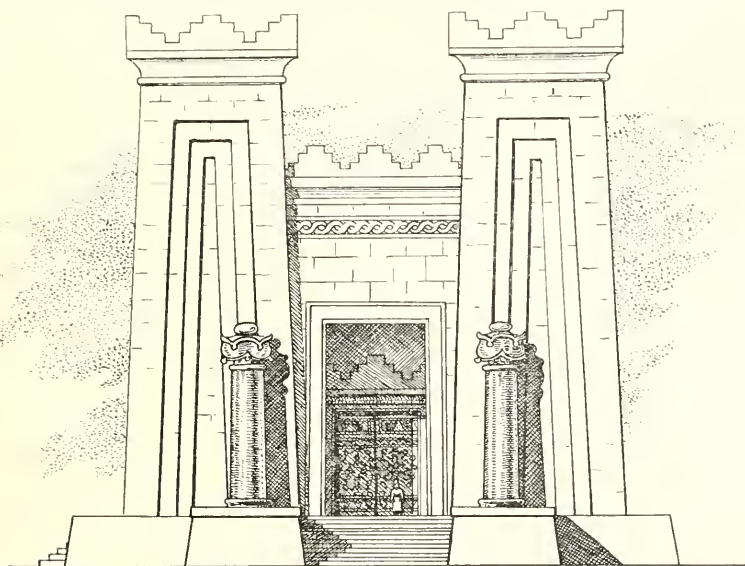


Fig. 14. SOLOMON'S TEMPLE. FRONT ELEVATION.

settled are the height of the peristyle and the crowning wall, if any, above the Debir. I have set the height of the peristyle at twelve cubits, above which the facing carries the apparent height another three. I have made the colonnade of a single row of pillars which carry the architrave five cubits out from the wall (i. e., counting from the base. The slant of the walls would add about half a cubit at the indicated height).⁶⁶ Since the pillars were of wood I have used the simplest form of wooden pillar Egypt knew, as more easily sheathed in case such sheathing should be necessary to sup-

⁶⁶ Does not this slant of the walls explain that phrase of Ezekiel's which has given such trouble: "The breadth of the house was still upward"? Ezekiel xli. 7b.

pose. The windows which are several times mentioned in the description of the "House" I take to be those of the peripheral rooms and merely for the sake of ventilation; and these would probably pierce the wall of the house only at a place where they would not be visible from the floor; i. e., only those of the top tier of rooms can have been let into the Hekal, which would come so low down above the peristyle roof and behind its facing that they would be totally hidden from below. These were probably latticed and smaller at the outside than within the rooms. The *Debir*, being ten cubits below the cornice of the House-wall, would look queer unless its front edge were marked somehow. This is easily done by a rather tall cornice, surmounted by the useful and ubiquitous stepped ornament, whose top level easily would reach the base of the House-wall's gorge.

(4) *The Debir*. As has been said, this was a cube of twenty cubits inside measurement. It was absolutely dark, there being no windows opening into it. "Yahveh loveth darkness" seems to have been a common conception of the time.⁶⁷ There is some doubt, nevertheless, of the doors being kept closed. The staves of the Ark seem to have been visible from the outer Hekal.⁶⁸ These doors folded vertically.⁶⁹ The doorway appears to have been pentagonal,⁷⁰ an additional distinction, marking the dignity of the entrance. It was six cubits broad.⁷¹ The height is not given; probably it would come to about ten cubits. The four necessary posts of the sanctuary would be about five cubits from the walls, in order to have the central space clear for the Ark and its guarding cherubim.

(5) *The Chambers*. These are a fairly unique phenomenon; yet they cannot be doubted, because of the unusual and accurate agreement of the accounts. Also such chambers have been discovered at Birs Nimrud (Egypt),⁷² and the British Museum Gem (Fig. 5), though later, shows that the Phœnicians knew how to combine such a feature with their temple-type.

The chambers were in three stories, extending on all sides of the "House" except the east, where the porch took up all the space.

⁶⁷ 1 Kings viii. 12; 2 Chron. vi. 1.

⁶⁸ 1 Kings viii. 8. The verse is not altogether clear but seems to warrant this much.

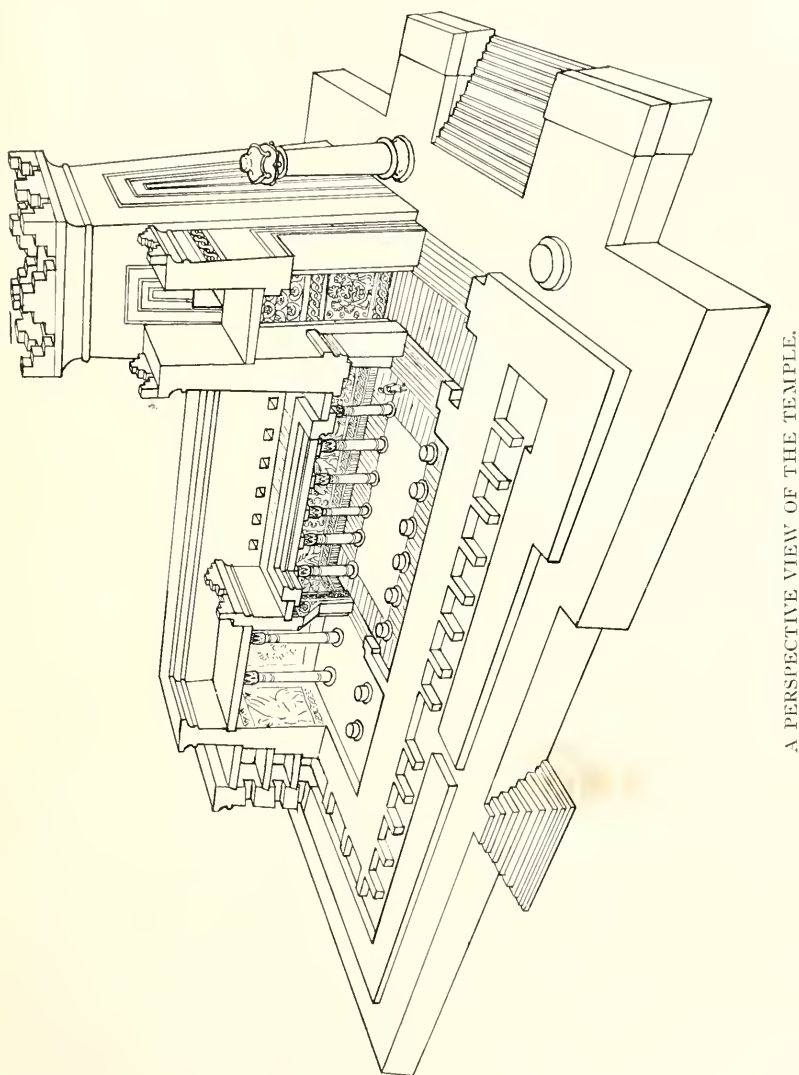
⁶⁹ The veil which Chronicles describes is later. Neither Ezekiel nor Kings mention it.

⁷⁰ 1 Kings vi. 31b = "five-square."

⁷¹ Ezekiel xli. 3.

⁷² cf. Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, ad loc.

The method of their superposition is most ingenious, yet simple. Owing to the veneration for the "House" it was deemed sacrilegious to insert timbers in its walls. So rebatements of one cubit per story gave resting-ledges for the cedar (?) timbers upon which the floors



A PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE TEMPLE.

were laid. This of course necessitated an enlarging of the rooms; so that, the rooms on the first story being five cubits wide, the second story rooms were six and the top one seven. The height of all seems

to have been the same, i. e., five cubits.⁷³ Their outer wall, according to Ezekiel was five cubits thick. Whether the rebatement was shared by both House and chamber wall is uncertain, but from the repeated statement of the narrowed rests in the "wall of the House" and the lack of a single word about a like lessening in the chamber-wall, it seems likeliest that the whole rebatement of one cubit a story took place in the "House" wall. The exterior slant of the wall of the chambers keeps parallel to the successive lessening of the main wall, which continued to slant inward above the top chamber.

Connection was made from one room to another without the mediacy of a corridor. I have placed the doors next the outer wall, as being simpler to construct and as providing more storage space in the rooms. There was a door-way in the bottom tier of rooms on the south side of the building. Ezekiel's addition of one on the north seems to be a gratuitous personal gift to the ideal he had. Although there were winding stairways in Egyptian pylons, it is doubtful if such skill was yet attained elsewhere. Ladders are a more imaginable means of ascent, though stairs may have been built in by the time of the exile. To put these ladders only on the south side at the doorway room is to leave communication highly difficult. Therefore, as is the natural historical impulse, I have run the rooms well into the buttress-masses of the pylon (which *must* have been built partially hollow) and provided a doorway opening out across the porch's roof. Probably ladders were also to be found in these pylon rooms, which may possibly have been larger by a little than the others.

The number of these rooms is doubtful. Ezekiel is the only one who mentions their number, and he does it in such a way as to defy the best Chinese puzzle-solver. Whether there were thirty in all, thirty-three in all, thirty in each story or thirty-three in each story is an apparently insoluble question. I have chosen thirty-three to a story as working out the best in my plan, but there is no guide to such a choice except convenience.⁷⁴

The windows of these rooms were also latticed, to keep out birds, rain, etc. There must have been a slight slant to the roof of the top story and a perforation through the outer wall to let rain run off. Probably the roof of the Debir drained backward likewise onto the chamber-roof, through small spouts in the "House"-wall.

⁷³ I Kings vi. 10.

⁷⁴ To be sure, this makes pretty small rooms, but they were for storage-closets etc., not for living-rooms. Storage-closets need not have been large, since all the priestly paraphernalia and treasures seem to have been portably small.

(6) *Material*. Jerusalem and its vicinity provides excellent building stone, the *maleki*, a hard style of chalk or white, hard limestone, still appreciated at the present day. It can be polished like marble. It was cut in the quarry to the desired shape and size and brought to its place in the temple, so that no sound of iron was heard in the whole process of building.⁷⁵ Doubtless this was in deference to a popular superstition which forbade the use of iron on any sacred house, as shown in the oldest legislation of the Hebrews by the prohibition of altars of *heaven* stone, because the lifting of a tool upon it would defile it.⁷⁶

Timber was and is of inferior quality and meagre quantity. Hence a treaty with Hiram was necessary to obtain sufficient cedar and cypress for the prodigal sheathing and colonnades (in the courtyards and Solomon's palaces especially) the plans called for. The forests of Lebanon and of Cyprus are evidenced even now. Hiram had his timber next door.

The gold seems to have been later imagination. But gilding and charging with bronze (brass) is a characteristic Phœnician trick and we need not leave this out of the ornamental possibilities of the Temple.

This finishes the bare reconstruction of the building Solomon dedicated to Yahveh as the permanent abiding-place of His Ark. Yet the ornamentation and symbolic or semi-symbolic details contain so much more of the live interest of the times that, at the great risk of tediousness, I must say a few words on three of the more noticeable birth-marks of the Temple: (1) Jachin and Boaz, (2) the sacred trees, and (3) the Cherubin.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

⁷⁵ Although the authenticity of the verse (1 Kings vi. 7) has been doubted owing to its queer position, historic likelihood renews the idea.

⁷⁶ Ex. xx. 25:

GOETHE AND RELIGION.

BY THE EDITOR.

GOETHE'S faith in God received a severe shock while he was a small child by the news of the earthquake at Lisbon. From his religious instruction the boy had learned to look upon God as all-good, all-wise and all-powerful, and such a dreadful accident seemed to be incompatible with this conception of deity. In his autobiography the poet describes his own state of mind as follows:*

"An extraordinary event deeply disturbed the boy's peace of mind for the first time. On the 1st of November, 1755, the earthquake at Lisbon took place, and spread a prodigious alarm over the world, long accustomed to peace and quiet. A great and magnificent capital which was at the same time a trading and mercantile city, was smitten without warning by a terrible calamity. The earth trembled and tottered; the sea foamed; ships dashed against one another; houses fell down, and churches and towers on top of them; the royal palace was partly swallowed by the waters; the bursting land seemed to vomit flames; everywhere among the ruins were seen smoke and fire. Sixty thousand persons a moment before in ease and comfort, perished together; and he was most fortunate who was no longer capable of a thought or feeling about the disaster. The flames raged on; and with them raged a troop of desperadoes, before concealed, or set at large by the event. The wretched survivors were exposed to pillage, massacre and every outrage; and thus on all sides Nature asserted her boundless caprice.

"Intimations of this event had spread over wide regions more quickly than the authentic reports: slight shocks had been felt in many places; in many springs, particularly those of a mineral nature, an unusual receding of the waters had been remarked; and such phenomena added to the effect of the accounts themselves, which were

*The quotations from Goethe's *Autobiography* in this article follow mainly the translations of Oxenford.

rapidly circulated, at first in general terms, but finally with dreadful definiteness. Hereupon the religiously inclined were not wanting in reflections, neither were the philosophical in grounds for consolation, nor the clergy in warnings. So complicated an event arrested the attention of the world for a long time; and, as additional and more detailed accounts of the extensive effects of this explosion came from every quarter, those who had already been aroused by the misfortunes of strangers now began to be more and more anxious for themselves and their friends. Perhaps the demon of terror had never so speedily and powerfully diffused his terrors over the earth.

"The boy, who was compelled to endure frequent repetitions of the whole story, was not a little staggered. God, the Creator and Preserver of heaven and earth, whom the explanation of the first article of the creed declared so wise and benignant, having abandoned both the just and the unjust to the same destruction, had not manifested himself by any means in a fatherly character. In vain the young mind strove to resist these impressions. This was the more impossible since the wise and scripture-learned could not themselves agree as to the light in which such a phenomenon should be regarded.

"The next summer gave a closer opportunity of knowing directly that angry God, of whom the Old Testament records so much. A sudden hail-storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, violently broke the new panes at the back of our house, which looked towards the west, damaged the new furniture, destroyed some treasured books and other valuable things, and was the more terrible to the children, as the whole household, quite beside themselves, dragged us little folks with them into a dark passage, where, on their knees, with frightful groans and cries, they thought to conciliate the wrathful Deity. Meanwhile, my father, who was the only one self-possessed, forced open and unhinged the window-frames, by which we saved much glass, but made a broader inlet for the rain which followed the hail; so that, after we were finally quieted, we found ourselves completely surrounded by floods and streams of water, in the halls and on the stairs."

The poetic inclination of Goethe appeared also in his religious yearnings, and it is interesting to see how even as a boy he presents an exact parallel to the religion of ancient Persia whose God was worshiped under the symbol of light, and where the sun was greeted as His visible representative in the world. We let Goethe show the condition of his mind in his own words:

"It may be taken for granted, that among our other lessons, we children had a continued and progressive instruction in religion. But the ecclesiastical Protestantism imparted to us was, properly speaking, nothing but a kind of dry morality. Ingenious exposition was not thought of, and the doctrine appealed neither to the understanding nor to the heart. For that reason, there were various secessions from the Established Church. Separatists, Pietist, Moravians (*Herrnhuter*), the Quiet-in-the-Land, and others differently named and characterized, sprang up, all of whom were animated by the same purpose of approaching the Deity, especially through Christ, more closely than seemed to them possible under the forms of the established religion.

"The boy heard these opinions and sentiments constantly spoken of, for the clergy as well as the laity divided themselves into *pro* and *con*. Those who dissented more or less widely formed the minority; but their modes of thinking proved enticing on account of their originality, heartiness, perseverance, and independence. All sorts of stories were told of their virtues, and of the way in which these were manifested. The reply of a pious tinker was once circulated, who when one of his craft attempted to shame him by asking, 'Who then is your confessor?' answered with great cheerfulness and confidence in the goodness of his cause, 'I have a very famous one,—no less than the confessor of King David.'

"Things of this sort naturally made an impression on the boy, and led him into similar states of mind. In fact, he came to the conclusion that he might approach directly the great God of nature, the Creator and Preserver of heaven and earth, whose earlier manifestations of wrath had been long forgotten in the beauty of the world, and the manifold blessings in which we participate while upon it. The way he took to accomplish this was very curious.

"The boy had chiefly kept to the first article of belief. The God who stands in immediate connection with nature, and owns and loves it as his work, seemed to him the proper God, who might be brought into closer relationship with man, as with everything else, and who would take care of him, as of the motion of the stars, the days and the seasons, and animals and plants. There were texts of the Gospels which explicitly stated this. The boy would ascribe no form to this Being: he therefore sought him in his works, and would fain build him an altar in the good Old-Testament fashion. Natural productions were set out to represent the world, and over these a flame was to burn, signifying the aspirations of man's heart towards his Maker. He brought the best ores and other specimens

out of his natural history collection which had been increased as chance directed. But the next difficulty was how to arrange and build them up. His father possessed a beautiful red-lacquered music-stand, ornamented with gilt flowers, in the form of a four-sided pyramid, with different elevations, which had been found convenient for quartets, but lately was not much in use. The boy took possession of this, and set up his natural specimens one above the other in steps; so that it all looked quite pretty and at the same time sufficiently significant.

"On an early sunrise his first worship of God was to be celebrated, but the young priest had not yet settled on how to produce a flame which should at the same time emit an agreeable odor. At last it occurred to him to combine the two, as he possessed a few fumigating pastils, which diffused a pleasant fragrance with a glimmer, if not with a flame. Nay, this soft burning and exhalation seemed a better representation of what passes in the heart, than an open flame. The sun had risen long before, but the neighboring houses concealed the east. At last it appeared above the roofs. The boy at once took up a burning-glass and applied it to the pastils, which stood on the summit in a fine porcelain saucer. Everything succeeded as desired, and the service of devotion was complete. The altar remained as a peculiar ornament of the room which had been assigned him in the new house. Every one regarded it only as a well-arranged collection of natural curiosities. The boy knew better but concealed his knowledge. He longed for a repetition of the solemnity. But unfortunately, just when the most opportune sun arose, the porcelain cup was not at hand: he placed the pastils on the upper surface of the stand with no protection; they were kindled; and so great was the devotion of the priest, that he did not observe, until it was too late, the mischief his sacrifice was doing. The pastils had burned mercilessly into the red lacquer and beautiful gold flowers, and had vanished just as if some evil spirits had left their black, ineffaceable footprints. This threw the young priest into the most extreme perplexity. The mischief could be covered up to be sure with the largest of his specimens; but the spirit for new offerings was gone, and the accident might almost be considered a hint and warning of the danger there always is in wishing to approach the Deity in such a way."

Goethe's polytheistic tendencies* reappear in an elaboration of the Christian doctrines into a religious system which was similar

* Cf. the author's article on "Goethe's Polytheism," *Open Court*, July, 1907.

to the old gnosticism with the details of which, however, Goethe was probably unfamiliar. His elaboration will therefore remain a curious parallel in the eyes of any one who compares the laws of mental evolution both in the individual and in the history of mankind. We ought to remember though that the following statement must not be taken too seriously. We must bear in mind that here it is Goethe the poet who speaks, and he recapitulates merely a phase of his development, not the final result of his views. He says:

"I diligently studied the different opinions; and as I had often enough heard it said that ultimately every man has his own religion, so nothing seemed more natural to me than that I should form mine too; and this I did with much satisfaction. Neo-Platonism lay at the foundation: the hermetical, the mystical, the cabalistic, also contributed their share; and thus I built for myself a world that looked strange enough.

"I could easily represent to myself a Godhead which has gone on producing itself from all eternity; but, as production can not be conceived without multiplicity, so of necessity it must have immediately appeared to itself as a Second, which we recognize under the name of Son; now, these two must continue producing, and again manifested themselves in a Third, who was just as substantial, living, and eternal as the Whole. With these three, however, the circle of the Godhead was complete; and it would not have been possible for them to produce another perfectly equal to them.

"But, since the creative impulse always proceeded, they created a fourth, which from the beginning was self-contradictory, inasmuch as it was, like them, unlimited, and yet at the same time was to be contained in them and bounded by them. Now, this was Lucifer, to whom the whole power of creation was committed from this time forth, and from whom all other beings were to proceed. He immediately displayed his infinite activity by creating the whole concourse of angels,—all, again, after his own likeness, unlimited, but contained in him and bounded by him. Surrounded by such a glory, he forgot his higher origin, and believed that he could find it within himself; and from this first ingratitude sprang all that does not seem to us in accordance with the will and purposes of the Godhead.

"Now, the more Lucifer concentrated himself within himself, the more painful must his condition have become to him, as well as to all the spirits whose sweet uprising to their origin he had prevented. And so there took place what is known to us as the Fall of the Angels. One part of them joined Lucifer, the others turned to their origin.

"From this concentration of the whole creation—for it had proceeded out of Lucifer, and was bound to follow him—sprang all that we perceive under the form of matter, which we figure to ourselves as heavy, solid, and dark, but which, since it is descended, if even not immediately, yet by filiation, from the Divine Being, is just as unlimited, powerful, and eternal as its sire and grandsire.

"Now since the whole mischief, if we may call it so, arose merely through the one-sided direction of Lucifer, the better part was indeed wanting to this creation; for it possessed all that is gained by concentration, while it lacked all that can be effected by expansion alone: and so the entire creation might have been destroyed by everlasting concentration, have become annihilated with its father Lucifer, and have lost all its claims to an equal eternity with the Godhead. This condition the Elohim contemplated for a time: and they had their choice, either to wait for those cons in which the field would again have become clear, and space would be left them for a new creation: or, if they would, to seize upon that which already existed, and supply the want according to their own eternity. Now they chose the latter, and merely by their will supplied in an instant the whole want which the consequence of Lucifer's undertaking involved. They gave to the Eternal Being the faculty of expansion, of moving towards them: the peculiar pulse of life was again restored, and Lucifer himself could not avoid its effects. This is the epoch when that appeared which we know as light, and when that began which we are accustomed to designate by the word creation.

"However much this multiplied itself by progressive degrees, through the continually working vital power of the Elohim, still a being was wanting who might be able to restore the original connection with the Godhead: and so man was created, who in all things was to be similar, yea, equal to the Godhead, but thereby, in effect, found himself once more in the situation of Lucifer, that of being at once unlimited and limited. And since this contradiction was to manifest itself in him through all the categories of existence, and a perfect consciousness, as well as a decided will, was to accompany his various conditions, it was to be foreseen that he must be at the same time the most perfect and the most imperfect, the most happy and the most unhappy, creature. It was not long before he, too, completely acted the part of Lucifer. True ingratitude is the separation from the benefactor; and thus that fall was manifest for the second time, although the whole creation is noth-

ing and was nothing but a falling from and returning to the original.

"One easily sees how the Redemption has here not only been decreed from eternity, but is considered as eternally necessary,—nay, that it must ever renew itself through the whole time of becoming and being (*Werden und Wesen*). In this view of the subject, nothing is more natural than for Divinity itself to take on the form of man, which had already prepared itself as a veil, and to share his fate for a short time, in order, by this assimilation, to enhance his joys and alleviate his sorrows. The history of all religions and philosophies teaches us, that this great truth, indispensable to man, has been handed down by different nations, in different times, in various ways, and even in strange fables and images, in accordance with their limited knowledge. Enough, if it only be acknowledged that we find ourselves in a condition, which, even if it seems to drag us down and oppress us, yet gives us opportunity, nay, even makes it our duty, to uplift ourselves, and thereby to fulfil the purposes of the Godhead, so that, while we are compelled on the one hand to actualize our own selves (*uns zu verselbststen*), we, on the other hand, do not fail to unself ourselves (*uns zu entselbstigen*) in regular pulsation."

Goethe can scarcely be called a believer in Christian dogmas, but he always took a deep and sympathetic interest in genuinely pious people. His friendship for Fräulein von Klettenberg, as well as his intimacy with Jung Stilling are well known. He went so far as to help the latter in the publication of his books which appeared under the titles *Heinrich Stillings Jugend* and *Stillings Jünglingsjahre*. At first sight Goethe might be thought to hold at the same time views that seem irreconcilable, and yet there need be no inconsistency in his several utterances. We will here enumerate some of these apparent contradictions.

Goethe's poetic nature made him appreciate Roman Catholic ceremonies and rituals. Protestantism was too prosaic and did not appeal to his emotional nature. His views are worth considering. He writes:

"The Protestant service has too little fulness and consistency to be able to hold the congregation together; hence it easily happens that members secede from it, and either form little congregations of their own, or, without ecclesiastical connection, quietly carry on their civic existence side by side. Thus for a considerable time complaints were made that church-going diminished from year to year, and also attendance at the Lord's Supper. With respect to

both, but especially the latter, the cause lies close at hand; but who dares to speak it out? We will make the attempt.

"In moral and religious, as well as in physical and civic, matters, man does not like to do anything on the spur of the moment; he needs a sequence from which habit results. What he is to love and to perform, he cannot represent to himself as single or isolated; and, if he is to repeat anything willingly, it must not have become strange to him. If the Protestant worship lacks fulness in general, so let it be investigated in detail, and it will be found that the Protestant has too few sacraments,—nay, indeed, he has only one in which he is himself an actor,—the Lord's Supper; for baptism he sees only when it is performed on others, and is not greatly edified by it. The sacraments are the highest part of religion, the symbols to our senses of an extraordinary divine favor and grace. In the Lord's Supper earthly lips are to receive a divine Being embodied, and partake of a heavenly nourishment under the form of an earthly one. This import is the same in all kinds of Christian churches. Whether the sacrament is taken with more or less submission to the mystery, with more or less accommodation as to that which is intelligible, it always remains a great, holy thing, which in reality takes the place of the possible or the impossible, the place of that which man can neither attain nor do without. But such a sacrament should not stand alone. No Christian can partake of it with the true joy for which it is given, if the symbolical or sacramental sense is not fostered within him. He must be accustomed to regard the inner religion of the heart and that of the external Church as perfectly one, as the great universal sacrament, which again divides itself into so many others, and communicates to these parts its holiness, and eternity.

"Here a youthful pair join hands, not for a passing salutation or for a dance; the priest pronounces his blessing upon them, and the bond is indissoluble. It is not long before this wedded pair bring their own likeness to the threshold of the altar. The infant is purified with holy water, and so incorporated into the Church that it cannot forfeit this benefit but through the most monstrous apostasy. In the course of life the child goes on growing in worldly things of his own accord, but in heavenly things he must be instructed. If on examination it proves that this has been fully done, he is received into the bosom of the Church as an actual citizen, as a true and voluntary professed Christian, not without outward tokens of the significance of this act. Now, only, is he truly a Christian; now for the first time does he know his privileges and also his

duties. But, in the meantime, a great deal that is strange has happened to him as a man. Through instruction and affliction he has come to know how critical appears the state of his inner self, and there questions of doctrines and of transgressions will constantly occur; but punishment shall no longer take place. For here, in the infinite confusion in which he must entangle himself, amid the conflict of natural and religious claims, an admirable expedient is given him, in confiding his deeds and misdeeds, his infirmities and doubts, to a worthy man, appointed expressly for that purpose, who knows how to calm, to warn, to strengthen him, to chasten him likewise by symbolical punishments, and at last, by complete washing away of his guilt, to render him happy, and to give him back, pure and cleansed, the tablet of his manhood. Thus prepared, and set entirely at rest by several sacramental acts, which on closer examination branch out again into minuter sacramental features, he kneels down to receive the Host; and, that the mystery of this high act may be still enhanced, he sees the chalice only in the distance. It is no common eating and drinking that satisfies,—it is a heavenly feast, which makes him thirst after heavenly drink.

“Yet let not the youth believe that is all he has to do: let not even the man believe it. In earthly relations we finally become accustomed to depend on ourselves; and, even there, knowledge, understanding, and character will not always suffice; while on the other hand in heavenly things we never finish learning. The higher feeling within us, which often finds itself not quite at home, is, besides, oppressed by so much from without, that our own power hardly administers all that is necessary for counsel, consolation, and help. But, to this end, that remedy is instituted for our whole life, and an intelligent, pious man is continually waiting to show the right way to the wanderers, and to relieve the distressed.

“And what has been so well tried through the entire life, is now to show forth all its healing power with tenfold strength at the gate of Death. According to a familiar custom, inculcated from youth upwards, the dying man receives with fervor those symbolical, significant assurances, and where every earthly warranty fails, he is assured, by a heavenly one, of a blessed existence for all eternity. He feels perfectly convinced that neither a hostile element nor a malignant spirit can hinder him from clothing himself with a transfigured body, so that, in direct relation with the God-head, he may partake of the boundless bliss which flows forth from God.

“Then, in conclusion, that the whole man may be made holy,

the feet are anointed and blessed. They are to feel, even in the event of possible recovery, a repugnance to touching this earthly, hard, impenetrable soil. A wonderful elasticity is to be imparted to them, by which they spurn from under them the clod of earth which hitherto attracted them. And so, through a brilliant cycle of equally holy acts, the beauty of which we have only briefly hinted at, the cradle and the grave, however far asunder they may chance to be, are joined in one continuous circle.

"But all these spiritual wonders spring not, like other fruits, from the natural soil, where they can neither be sown nor planted nor cherished. We must supplicate for them another region,—a thing which cannot be done by all persons nor at all times. Here we meet the highest of these symbols, derived from pious tradition. We are told that one man may be more favored, blessed, and sanctified from above than another. But, that this may not appear as a natural gift, this great boon, bound up with a heavy duty, must be communicated to others by one authorized person to another; and the greatest good that a man can gain, without having to acquire it by his own wrestling or grasping, must be preserved and perpetuated on earth by spiritual inheritance. In the very ordination of the priest is comprehended all that is necessary for the effectual solemnizing of those holy acts by which the multitude receive grace, without any other activity being needful on their part than that of faith and implicit confidence. And thus the priest joins the line of his predecessors and successors, in the circle of those anointed with him, representing the highest source of blessings, so much the more gloriously as it is not he, the priest, whom we reverence, but his office; it is not his nod to which we bow the knee, but the blessing which he imparts, and which seems the more holy, and to come the more immediately from heaven, because the earthly instrument cannot at all weaken or invalidate it by its own sinful, nay, wicked, nature.

"How shattered to pieces is this truly spiritual connection in Protestantism, which declares part of the above-mentioned symbols apocryphal, and only a few canonical!—and how, by their indifference to some of these, will they prepare us for the high dignity of the others?

"In my time I had been confided to the religious instruction of a good old infirm clergyman, who had been confessor of the family for many years. The "Catechism," a "Paraphrase" of it, and the "Scheme of Salvation," I had at my fingers' ends: I lacked not one of the strong and convincing Biblical texts, but from all this

I reaped no fruit; for, as they assured me that the honest old man arranged his chief examination according to an ancient set formula, I lost all pleasure and inclination for the affair, spent the last week in all sorts of diversions, laid in my hat the loose leaves borrowed from an older friend who had gotten them from the clergyman, and unfeelingly and without understanding read aloud all that I might have uttered with feeling and conviction.

"My good intention and my aspirations in this important matter were still more paralyzed by a dry, spiritless routine, when I was about to approach the confessional. I was indeed conscious of having many failings but no great faults; and that very consciousness diminished them, since it directed me to the moral strength which lay within me, and which, with resolution and perseverance, was at last to become master over the old Adam. We were taught that we were much better than the Catholics for the very reason that we were not obliged to confess anything in particular in the confessional,—nay, that this would not be at all proper, even if we wished to do it. I did not like this at all; for I had the strangest religious doubts, which I would gladly have had cleared up on such an occasion. Now, as this was not to be done, I composed a confession for myself, which, while it well expressed my state of mind, was to confess to an intelligent man, in general terms, that which I was forbidden to tell him in detail. But when I entered the old choir of the ancient church of the Barefoot Friars [the church used by the Protestants of Frankfort], when I approached the strange latticed closets in which the reverend gentlemen used to be found for that purpose, when the sexton opened the door for me, when I now saw myself shut up in the narrow place face to face with my spiritual grandsire and he bade me welcome with his weak, nasal voice, all the light of my mind and heart was extinguished at once, the well-conned confession-speech would not cross my lips. In my embarrassment I opened the book I had in my hand, and read from it the first short form I saw, which was so general, that anybody might have spoken it with quite a safe conscience. I received absolution, withdrew neither warm nor cold, went the next day with my parents to the Table of the Lord, and, for a few days, behaved myself as was becoming after so holy an act."

While Goethe praises the beauty of the Roman Catholic ceremonies and blames Protestants for the prosaic tenor of their religion, he recognizes the significance of the Reformation and offers thanks to Luther. In the very last year of his life in his talks with Eckermann he said:

"We are not at all aware of all for which we have to thank Luther and the Reformation in general. We have been made free from the fetters of spiritual narrowness; as a result of our advancing culture we have become able to go back to the source and grasp Christianity in its purity. We have once more the courage to stand on God's earth with firm feet and to recognize ourselves in our God-given human nature. May the spiritual culture continue to advance, may the natural sciences grow in ever broader expansion and greater depth, and may the human soul extend, as it will, over the sublimity and moral culture of Christendom as it gleams and shines in the Gospels."

Goethe was broader than either Roman Catholics or Protestants, and in the face of an attempt made by Countess Bernstein to convert him, he maintained his position in these words (October, 1809): "I have tried my life long to be candid with myself and with others, and in all earthly affairs have always looked at the highest things; you and yours have done the same. Let us therefore continue so as long as it is day for us; a sun will shine for others also. They will make their way to it and incidentally illumine us with a brighter light. May all be again united in the arms of the all-loving Father!"

Goethe was a good observer and he noticed that pious Christians in spite of their agreement in belief held very different religious tenets. The words in which they expressed themselves were to some extent the same, but the sentiments, attitudes and conceptions of each varied according to their needs. So, for instance, he noted when Lavater met Fräulein von Klettenberg in Frankfort, that, although they were apparently and in all externalities one in their religious faith, yet they conceived of their Saviour, in a very different manner. Goethe says in his *Autobiography*, Book XIV: "It has been repeatedly claimed in times of toleration that every man has his own religion, his own way of serving God. Although I did not maintain this directly I could notice in the present case that men and women stand in need of a different Saviour. Fräulein von Klettenberg's attitude to Him was a woman's attitude toward a lover to whom she surrenders unconditionally. All joy and all hope is placed in his person and she entrusts to him, and without doubt or hesitancy, the fate of her life. Lavater, however, regarded his Saviour as a friend whom a man would jealously strive to imitate without envy and lovingly, whose merit he recognizes, praises and for that reason endeavors to become like Him."

Goethe was not an anti-Christian but an anti-dogmatist. He

disliked the literal belief in dogma and the narrow interpretation of the sacraments. He refused to attend the baptism of Schiller's second son because the ceremony would jar on him, but he was not opposed to Christianity. Accordingly he had his own son instructed in the Christian doctrine by his friend Herder who at that time was superintendent-general of the Weimar State Church. Herder consented to undertake this task in a liberal spirit and Goethe thanked him in these words: "You will have the kindness, my old and honored friend, to introduce my son to the Christian fellowship in a more liberal manner than custom prescribes. For this I thank you most heartily."

Goethe loved and cherished the Bible; he says: "As for myself, I loved and valued it; for almost to it alone did I owe my moral culture. The events, the doctrines, the symbols, the similes, had all impressed themselves deeply upon me and had influenced me in one way or another. These unjust, scoffing, and perverted attacks, therefore, disgusted me; but people had already gone so far as very willingly to admit, partly for the sake of defending many passages, that God had accommodated himself to the modes of thought and power of comprehension in men; that even those moved by the spirit had not on that account been able to renounce their character, their individuality, and that Amos, a cow-herd, did not use the language of Isaiah, who is said to have been a prince."

An incident recorded by Falk under the date of November 10, 1810, seems to stand in flat contradiction to Goethe's praise of the Bible. In a conversation which he carried on with a bigoted Roman Catholic doctor in 1810 in the presence of the high-minded and pious Louis Bonaparte, ex-king of Holland, he branded the Bible as a dangerous book. We let Goethe tell this incident in his own words as related by Falk:

"But once when he [this bigoted man] started again an almost Capuchinian tirade on the dangerousness of books and the book-trade I could not help answering him with the opinion that the most dangerous of all books, so far as the history of the world is concerned, is indubitably the Bible, because no other book has brought so much good and so much evil to the human race. When I had finished this speech I was somewhat frightened at what I had said, for I thought the powder-mine would now explode into the air in all directions. Fortunately, however, it happened otherwise. To be sure I saw the doctor first grow pale and then red again from terror and wrath at these words, but the king composed himself with his usual gentleness and friendliness and said almost jokingly:

'Cela perce quelquefois que Monsieur de Goethe est hérétique';
 "Sometimes the heretic comes out in Monsieur de Goethe."

In *Wilhelm Meister*, Book VI, we read the following passage, which we can not doubt relates an incident of Goethe's own experience, although it may seem inconsistent with the understanding of his views which we have received from other expressions of his. He says: "Once I prayed out of the depth of my heart 'Now Almighty give me faith.' I was then in the condition in which one must be, but seldom is, when one's prayers are acceptable to God. Who could describe what in those moments I felt? A powerful impulse drew my soul to the cross on which Jesus had perished. My soul was near to Him who had become Man and died on the cross, and then I knew what faith meant. 'This is faith indeed,' I cried, and started up overawed by the idea. For such emotions as these all words fail us."

Goethe was too broad to be either a Christian or an anti-Christian. He was both, and the Christians in his time, too narrow to understand his position, called him a pagan. Goethe was sufficiently clear-sighted to see that they were Christians in name only, and that in spite of his unbelief he himself was a better Christian than they. He said: "Who to-day is such a Christian as Christ would have him? Perhaps I am the only one, although you consider me a heathen."

SACRAMENTAL CANNIBALISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

MR. James B. Smiley's article on "The Communion Ceremony" contains a great number of references to ideas prevalent among savages, which anticipate the underlying principle of sacramental eating and drinking. Cannibalism was originally by no means due to the physical command of hunger or the appetite for human flesh. Instances of that kind are rare exceptions and occur only when a terrible famine has reduced the population of a besieged city or a poverty-stricken district to a state of despair bordering on insanity. But cannibalism from religious motives is a feature quite common among all the tribes of man at a certain stage of civilization including even the ancestors of the European nations. Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie touches as follows on the subject when speaking of prehistoric Egypt:

"Prejudice is strange. I suppose the average British house-keeper would rather travel in the same carriage with a gambler, or a rake, than with a cannibal; the former two she might call 'gentlemanly,' but her skirts would be gathered closer around her when she brushed past the latter. It is not by any means only the horror of presupposed murder; but, without that being in question, it is the use of human flesh as food which to modern respectability seems ghastly. There is no code of Mrs. Grundy about it, because it is outside of the very limited experiences of that worthy lady. No, it is sheer mental prejudice against strangeness, which puts even the innocent and affectionate cannibal below the moral offender. Yet a large part of mankind are cannibals, and still more—perhaps all—have been so, including our own forefathers, for Jerome describes the Atticotti, a British tribe, as preferring human flesh to that of cattle.....

"When, a short time ago, it came to light that a civilized people, at about 3000 B. C., who had exquisite handicrafts, whose children played with choicely wrought toys, while their fathers carried on a wide-spread trade in the Mediterranean—when it appeared that these people habitually cut the heads from their dead and ate some portion of the bodies, no one would credit the notion. Every sort of explanation was started; but the facts could not be gainsaid, and the broken marrow-bones and piles of ribs and vertebrae told plainly how the Libyan invaders of Egypt had honored their beloved dead.

"And now this year it is found that one of the grandest and most capable people that ever lived—those who built the splendid masonry of the Pyramids, at once the greatest and most highly finished works of man; who carved some of the most lifelike statues, who organized society and labor on a great scale, who treasured a delicate moral feeling—that many of these people reverently buried the bones of their dead after elaborately removing all the flesh. Why they did so we can hardly doubt when we look at the ways of other races.

"When we classify the motives of cannibalism that are recorded, we find that in more than half the races mental motives prevail, and in rather less than half the physical motives of hunger or pleasure. We may roughly classify the motives thus:

	PER CENT.
Honor, kindness, future good, love	20
To obtain strength or magic results	19
As a ceremony, or to acquire position	10
As a punishment	5
	54
From hunger or need of food	18
From preference as food	28
	46

The higher motives of honor and kindness prevail mostly in Asia, Australia, and South America, but seem to be unknown in Polynesia, North America, and Africa. The Thibetans considered it a glorious burial for their honored elders to be eaten; some Australians also eat the dead with the greatest and most solemn honor; and the Tupi and Capanahuas in South America did likewise. Besides this, it is often a matter of kindness and love for the dead. The Cucumas of South America said that 'it was better to be inside a friend than to be swallowed up by the cold earth.' And who will say that they are wrong? Such seems to have been the main sentiment in that quarter of the world, as it appears again among the Botocudos, Tapuyas, Mayoruna, Mundrucu, and Guyanis. The idea of protecting the dead from decay and putrefaction, which would befall them in the ground, and giving them a kindly and affectionate disposal among their friends and kin, is as far removed as possible from any brutality and baseness.....

"Other motives, for the benefit of the living, are also usual. The idea that eating of the heart of a lion will make a man brave, or the legs of a deer will make him swift, is a common one in many parts of the world.....

"The great moral objection to cannibalism is, no doubt, that it may lead to murder; and this is the special blot on African cannibalism."

The data of Professor Petrie are based on good anthropological evidence, and Mr. Smiley contributes a number of additional facts which go to prove the universality of cannibalism. We may mention still another motive, which is the idea of incorporating the soul of the deceased, and it is probable that at a certain stage of civilization the heir had to incorporate the soul of the testator by partaking of his body. In this way he was deemed the rightful successor in whom the soul of the departed one had taken abode.

We look with horror upon the superstitions of the savage, but if we were living under the same conditions and held the same opinions as to the nature of the world, and especially of the soul, we would act in the same way. Primitive man is not so stupid as he appears to us. He has a logic of his own which he follows with rigorous persistency. The witch trials and heresy persecutions of the Middle Ages belong to the same category and call for the same explanation. The inquisitors and judges of witches were neither malevolent nor criminal. They simply drew conclusions according to the arguments at their disposal, and when we know all we shall have to understand the situation and judge the superstitions of our ancestors not only with leniency but with condonement.

Why then has cannibalism become so offensive to modern mankind? Professor Petrie ridicules the sentiment, and yet who of us does not find the idea shocking and ghastly?

In order to understand the horror that attaches to the very idea of eating human flesh, we must bear in mind, that man shrinks from eating certain animals, and these animals are always those which have been sacred to some god or other and were first partaken of sacramentally at the feast of the deity. Semitic archeologists have discovered that the boar was originally the animal sacred to the sun-god and was venerated in Syria as the symbol of Adonis. This conception was not limited to Semites, for even the ancient Teutons cherished the same idea with regard to Fro, the sun-god who was said to ride on a boar with golden bristles. *Fro* means "the lord," as does Adonis, and the word is still retained in the German name for the Procession of the Host, called the "body of the Lord," or in German *Fronleichnam*. The feminine of *Fro* is *Frau* which applies in the same sense to the Virgin Mary as the queen of heaven, just as its older form Frigga or Freya applied to the mother goddess and queen of heaven of the Teutons.

The German heroes in Walhalla were believed to feast sacramentally on a boar whose flesh never gave out, and we cannot doubt that in Syria the pig was a sacred animal solemnly partaken of by the worshipers on the festive day of Adonis. When in a later stage of civilization the ritual of Adonis made way for a higher religion, the sacramental animal became an object of abomination, and thenceforth the boar and all its kin were scorned by the adherents of the new faith.

The same process took place among the Saxons who in their pagan days worshiped Wodan as the god of heaven, to whom the horse was sacred. We know that they celebrated sacramental feasts

at which they partook freely of the flesh of the horse, but when Christianity superseded the worship of Wodan and the other gods of the Saxons, the communion of the pagan ritual was forbidden by severe penalties, and this rule applied even to eating the flesh of the horse, the animal sacred to Wodan. This habit is so deeply ingrained into all Teutonic races that at the present time they instinctively revolt from equine food.

Now we will understand that the reason for abstaining from human flesh is not merely anthropological, it is also religious. There was a time in the development of all races when human sacrifices were deemed indispensable and no race on earth can be considered free from this taint if we may regard it so. We must look upon this fact of history as an indication of man's deeply seated religious notions, and of the fact that he has always been willing to offer to God the best and dearest in his possession. If we consider the natural reversion that sets in when in a higher phase of his development, man shrinks from partaking of the sacramental food of a previous age, we will understand the deep aversion modern man has acquired against cannibalism.

It is one of the great blessings of Christianity that being rooted in the remotest past of mankind it abolished ancient superstitions by fulfilling them. The Christian sacrament* contains reminiscences of the old cannibalistic custom and yet it has done away with it forever. The Christian worshiper still feels the yearning to partake of the deity and this is realized in a sense-perceptible rite. The old notion looms up in the background, yet it is transfigured by a spiritual meaning.

* For further information see the author's article, "The Food of Life and the Sacrament," *Monist* X, 247 ff. and 343 ff.

THE POETRY OF SLEEP.

BY A SKEPTIC.

I DO not believe in telepathy, mind reading or revelation of things unknown, through any of the automatic and occult processes for which so much is claimed and so much accepted in our time. And yet, I have had numerous experiences, waking and sleeping, which seem to indicate the working of sub-conscious faculties and to make it seem probable that many delusions and frauds begin in experiences that are mysterious and wonderful. Omitting the mental and optical surprises which have come in my waking hours and are exceedingly interesting, I would record some of the phenomena of dreams.

All my life I have had wonderful dreams. Events unroll themselves in a continuous procession, or I compose stories of great length and with wonderful skill, as it seems, until I wake and find the fading remnants of the experience, or the narrative, to be absurd and impossible. I have often dreamed of speaking in public and occasionally have flattered myself that I was exceedingly eloquent. But I have never succeeded in carrying through any discourse to a fitting conclusion or in having the exercises carried out according to program. What ought to be a solid platform in a hall may turn out to be a miscellaneous collection of packing cases, and the books from which quotations are to be made always turn out to be something strange and for the purpose useless.

During my waking hours I have no skill as a poet and have not in my life attempted more than half a dozen times to write poetry in any form. But in my sleep I often make the attempt with great satisfaction to myself, which is always followed by disappointment when I find either that I cannot capture the fleeting creations of my fancy or that so far as I can remember they are pretentious nonsense. This habit of dreaming began when I was passing my examinations for entrance at college. The night before my examina-

tion in Latin I wearied myself in my sleep with attempts to write Latin poetry. Not a word remained in the morning to show whether I had succeeded or not, but a framework of Latin forms which I had been trying to fill out with intelligible language did remain to haunt me for days.

The prairie and the desert have always impressed my imagination and excited me more than any other forms of natural scenery. My first view of the prairie came on a journey from Toledo over the Wabash Road to St. Louis. While daylight lasted I was charmed with the changing aspects of the land and especially with the gorgeous cloud scenery accompanying the sunset, which is one of the many compensations which those who live on the plains have for the lack of mountain scenery. In my sleep the visions of the day glided into dreams, and in the night I awoke filled with the idea that I had caught the very spirit of the land and sky and was able to interpret it as no other person had ever done. But I was chagrined to find that my fine imaginations were rapidly failing and that of all the eloquent descriptions I could recall only the words "the long and infinite prairie." Hearing music, when I am awake or in my dreams, I sometimes seem to know things without the aid of my senses. I do not merely hear with my ears and see with my eyes, but I am a part of that which I hear and see. I know it because I am in it and of it, as if I were a disembodied presence without dimensions, conscious of that of which I am a part. To take one example of the effect of music. Once I fell into a reverie while a friend was playing on the piano and as I mused I seemed to become a conscious part of the world. The earth was a living being—an organism, living as we live, and especially I was conscious that it was breathing, the whole earth was breathing, as we breathe, and I was a conscious part of the process. When I started from my reverie, I told the musician what I had been thinking of. He said, "The words which go to the music which I was playing are 'Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord.'"

I once made a partially successful effort to rescue a poem composed in sleep. I fell asleep sitting in a chair with broad arms, on which a pad of paper was lying. In my dream I seemed to be, not floating in the air, but intermingled and interfused with it, and yet preserving my identity. Suddenly all the air about me seemed to be vocal. I did not hear in an ordinary sense any sound and yet all the air seemed to be thrilling with an anthem. I suddenly became conscious that I was hearing the hymn of humanity, the whole history of its struggles; and the meaning of all its joy and sorrow and

triumph and pain were disclosed in this wonderful symphony. While the song was in full flow I suddenly awoke, having at first the feeling that I was in full possession of that which had been flowing through my being in the form of a magnificent poem. Then with a start I realized that here was a chance such as had so many times escaped me through the failure of any memory. Already the vision began to fade, but I seized a pencil and as fast as I could write, put down the following fragment. I did not stop to supply the missing lines or words because I feared it would all escape. There was much more than I had written, but suddenly with a snap my ordinary consciousness was restored, the dream faded and I was left with this relic which to me means more than it can to anyone else, because although it is mere doggerel it recalls the magnificent reverberation of fancy of which it is a reminiscence.

A VOICE.

I heard a voice on the empty air
It rang out full and free,
It spoke of joy and freedom from care
Like the waves of a flowing sea.

Again it was low and its strain
Was the wail of a heart
In travail of sorrow and pain.

.....

Loud and long was its peal
Like laughter rolling along,
'Twas the song of the glowing ideal
The peal of humanity's song.

Low and tender it stole
Like a fancy, a mist of desire,
Into the fibre and sense of the soul,
A warmth of Olympian fire.

Low and soft and sweet
A song to remember apart
A song of love ..
'Twas the song of the human heart.

It rang out again on the air,
A burden of woes it conveyed,
A burden of grief and despair

.....

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes seems to have had similar experiences, for in his essay on "Mechanism in Thought and Morals,"

he says: "I remember in my youth, reading verses in a dream, written, as I thought, by a rival fledgling of the Muse. They were so far beyond my powers, that I despaired of equalling them; yet I must have made them unconsciously as I read them. Could I only have remembered them waking!"

We hear much about the subconscious mind, and the statement is often made that the very best work of which one is capable may be done while the conscious mind is asleep. Stevenson, Tennyson, and Coleridge are quoted as witnesses to this fact. But my own experience has led me to believe that we are the victims of a subtle deception, often of self-deception in this matter. *Kubla Khan* was a wonderful poem and the contrast between that and the fragment given above may measure the difference between the poetic ability of Coleridge and the present writer. But after all *Kubla Khan* is the one splendid exception in literature and even that we may suspect owes its charm to the skill of the writer, exercised it may be both before and after the dream out of which the poem issued. It is a splendid example, also, perhaps the supreme illustration, of the grandiosity which marks the dream-made poem. Of all this the lesson is that the deliverances of the subconscious mind are vague, incoherent, rhapsodical, useless, for the most part, until they are submitted to the severer process of the conscious intellect.

N. B. When I sent in the above article I had not read the interesting communication by Sanders McIvor entitled "Subconscious Poetry."

THE MOSQUE OF OMAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

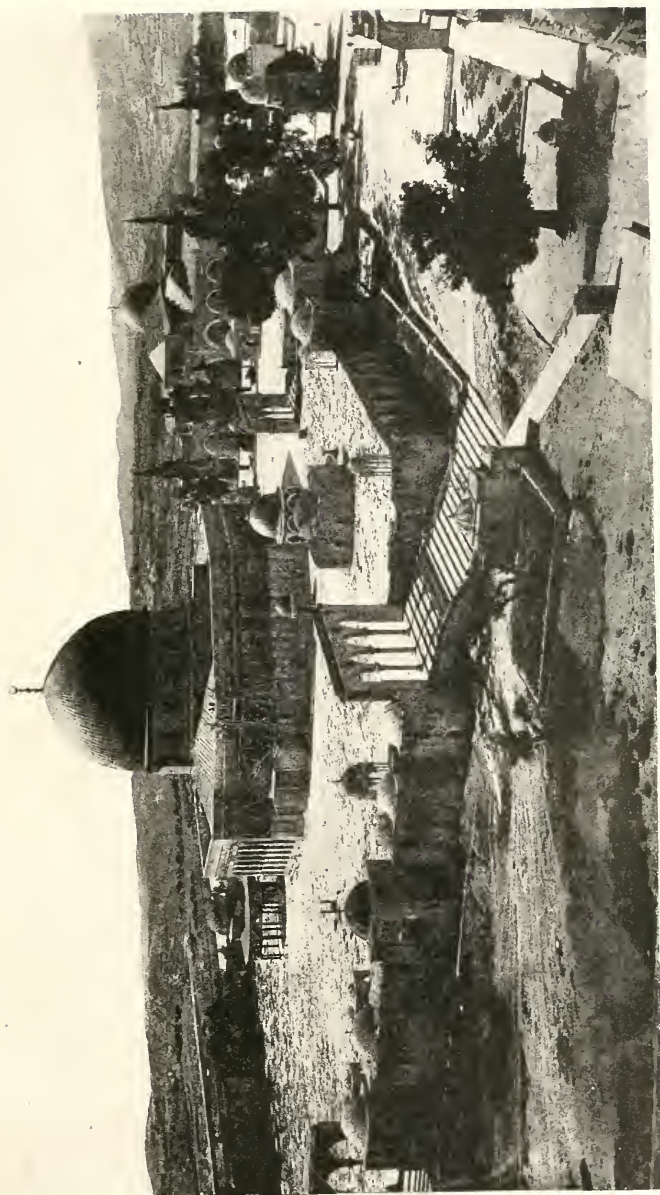
THE place where the Mosque of Omar now stands is commonly considered as the holy place of the temple of Solomon, for mankind is in the habit of preserving local traditions faithfully, and we may feel certain that Omar built his mosque on the site regarded with awe by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The Christians would not build a church on the spot because they believed that the destruction of the temple had taken place according to the decree of divine providence, and it was considered as un-Christian to redeem the ruins from their desolation. Omar's structure, however, is very unlike other Mohammedan mosques. It is not a place of worship where faithful Mussulmans might gather for prayer, but is simply a rotunda covering a rough rock, and it is this rock which is the holy spot of the temple.

Here, we must assume, was the threshing-floor of Araunah,* the Jebusite, from whom David bought the ground because it had become holy to him on account of the theophany—the divine vision—that had been granted him. We must remember that David had offended Yahveh by numbering the people, and as a punishment Israel was visited by a plague. The story is told in 2 Sam. xxiv. 10-25, and reads as follows:

“And David's heart smote him after that he had numbered the people. And David said unto the Lord, I have sinned greatly in that I have done: and now, I beseech thee, O Lord, take away the iniquity of thy servant; for I have done very foolishly.

“For when David was up in the morning, the word of the Lord came unto the prophet Gad, David's seer, saying, Go and say unto David, Thus saith the Lord, I offer thee three things; choose thee one of them, that I may do it unto thee.

* אֶרְאֻנָּה



THE MOSQUE OF OMAR.

"So Gad came to David, and told him, and said unto him, Shall seven years of famine come unto thee in thy land? or wilt thou flee three months before thine enemies, while they pursue thee? or that there be three days' pestilence in thy land? now advise, and see what answer I shall return to him that sent me.

"And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let us fall now into the hand of the Lord; for his mercies are great: and let me not fall into the hand of man.

"So the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel from the morning even to the time appointed: and there died of the people from Dan even to Beersheba seventy thousand men.

"And when the angel stretched out his hand upon Jerusalem to destroy it, the Lord repented him of the evil, and said to the angel that destroyed the people, It is enough: stay now thine hand. And the angel of the Lord was by the threshingplace of Araunah the Jebusite.

"And David spake unto the Lord when he saw the angel that smote the people, and said, Lo, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly: but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me, and against my father's house.

"And Gad came that day to David, and said unto him, Go up, rear an altar unto the Lord in the threshingfloor of Araunah the Jebusite.

"And David, according to the saying of Gad, went up as the Lord commanded.

"And Araunah looked, and saw the king and his servants coming on toward him: and Araunah went out, and bowed himself before the king on his face upon the ground.

"And Araunah said, Wherefore is my lord the king come to his servant? And David said, To buy the threshingfloor of thee, to build an altar unto the Lord, that the plague may be stayed from the people.

"And Araunah said unto David, Let my lord the king take and offer up what seemeth good unto him: behold, here be oxen for burnt sacrifice, and threshing instruments and other instruments of the oxen for wood.

"All these things did Araunah, as a king, give unto the king. And Araunah said unto the king, The Lord thy God accept thee.

"And the king said unto Araunah, Nay; but I will surely buy it of thee at a price: neither will I offer burnt offerings unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing. So David bought the threshingfloor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver.

“And David built there an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the Lord was intreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel.”

The story is told twice in the Bible; the other version is found in 1 Chron. xxi and contains a few later additions and ornaments. The vision especially is described very dramatically in these words:

“And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. Then David and the elders of Israel, who were clothed in sackcloth, fell upon their faces.”

It appears that the threshingfloor or Araunah which had thus become holy to the people has remained untouched by human hands throughout the ages down to the present day. It is most probable that it constituted the Holy of Holies in the Solomonic temple and also in its successor, the temple of Herod. After the destruction of the latter by Titus in 70 A. D. the place was marked by ruins, and the pious Moslem restored its pristine sanctity by erecting there a beautiful mosque built in Byzantine style. We can now understand that this graceful dome is in itself not a temple but simply serves as a covering for the protection of the holy place.

BOOK REVIEWS.

MODERN THOUGHT AND THE CRISIS IN BELIEF. By *R. M. Wenley*. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. 364. Price, \$1.50 net.

This is the 1909 volume of Baldwin Lectures founded and endowed by Bishop Harris to be delivered each year at the University of Michigan by "a learned clergyman or other communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . for the Establishment and Defence of Christian Truth." Professor Wenley, who holds the chair of philosophy there, is well fitted to contribute his share toward carrying out the Bishop's design although he modestly feels the lack of technical theological training. In this volume he endeavors to "indicate some reasons for doubting doubt that remains merely destructive." He knows that the performance of the task he has undertaken is likely to call down "anathemas alike from defenders of 'the faith once delivered to the saints'—for whom religion has achieved finality—and from rationalists who, in their horror of the sympathetic fallacy, cherish the notion that technical research can accomplish a perfect work." He knows it is hopeless to expect to conciliate these two parties or to convince them, but he writes rather for those who believe that the contemporary course of science and scholarship is tending towards the establishment of Christian truth rather than its apologetic defence or contemptuous dismissal.

In the first lecture, "Sheaves on the Threshing-Floor," Professor Wenley has drawn attention to the alterations that overtake reflective constructions of belief. In the next three, "The Waters of Meribah," "Breaches of the House," and "Humiliation in the Midst," he has summarized movements that justify Lord Hugh Cecil's declaration in the House of Commons, that "the doctrines of Christianity have passed into the region of doubt," indicating the present views on physical science and higher criticism from the conclusions of others. The last chapters, entitled "The Adjournment of Well-being," "The Penumbra of Belief," and "The Valley of Blessing," are devoted to an examination into the evidences of Christianity.

The keynote of the work seems to be the primary importance of religion to mankind, which the author would emphasize in the face of higher criticism and the truths it has opened up with the result that in the minds of many, the place of religion in the human life has often been greatly minimized. His final exhortation is: "And, if the mystics be few, the wandbearers many, let us remember constantly that the few must receive from the many that human extract whence they distil their message of new hope, bringing the Christ near, because expressing His secret in contemporary language, moods, and aspirations."

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